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A BRIEF *FORMA PREDICANDI*

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PROFESSOR HARRY CAPLAN has recently published two lists of medieval *artes predicandi*,¹ which tentatively distinguish approximately 250 tracts. It is true, as he points out, that as a result of further investigation a good many of these may coalesce; but the list which he has compiled offers imposing evidence of the large number of these treatises which existed in the later Middle Ages. Of the 250 which he lists, only 17 have been printed; and of these 17 only 6 (Nos. 215, 217, 218, 221, 222, and 229a) are at all generally available to scholars. Three appear in recent scholarly publications, 2 in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, and 1 among the collected works of Bonaventura (Quaracci).² It is evident that there is a serious need for editorial work in this important field.

The little *ars* which I here present is known to appear in six manuscripts: Brit. Mus. Addit. 21202, folios 71^r-73^v; Harl. 1615, folios 1^r-v; Roy. 5. C. iii, folios 317^r-v; Oxford, Bodl. 630, folios 273^v-74^r; Oxford, Univ. Coll. 36, pp. 237-39; and Cambridge, Univ. Ii. vi. 15, folios 140^r-41^r.³ The text printed here is the result of a collation of photo-stats of all these manuscripts, but is based upon Roy., which offers slightly greater advantages in the completeness of the readings and in the clarity of the writing than do the others. All departures from the

¹ Mediaeval "*Artes praedicandi*": a handlist (Cornell, 1934); Mediaeval "*Artes praedicandi*": a supplementary handlist (Cornell, 1936).

² Handlist (1934), pp. 36-37.

³ Ibid., p. 22, art. 121; see also Supplementary handlist p. 17. I shall hereafter refer to these MSS as Add., Harl., Roy., Bodl., Univ., and Camb.

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text of Roy. are pointed out in the notes. The punctuation and capitalization of the printed text are my own.

This treatise is a condensation of part of a much longer work on sermon construction,⁴ listed by Professor Caplan as Nos. 7 and 62,⁵ which in manuscripts is attributed to John of Wales and to Humbert of Prulli.⁶ In a recent study Father Thomas Charland pointed out that modern attributions of this treatise to Thomas of Wales are certainly erroneous, but refused to decide between the claims of John and those of Humbert.⁷ In a recent letter to me, however, he indicates his belief that John is the author: "Je reste fortement incliné, par des critères internes, en faveur de J. de G. pour la paternité du traité." I have nothing to add to the opinion of Father Charland.

It seems safe to assign John's(?) treatise to the later thirteenth century, since Humbert and John, the only two who have thus far been mentioned as possible authors of it, died in 1298⁸ and ca. 1303,⁹ respectively. It is impossible to say when the derivative tract, printed here, was written. It is rather likely that it appeared fairly late in the fourteenth century, however, since all the manuscripts which are known to contain it date from the fifteenth century except one, Univ., which is of the later fourteenth.¹⁰ There is no evidence whatever concerning the authorship of the shorter work.

⁴ See n. 18.

⁵ No. 95 (and possibly 118 and 139a) represents a fragment of this treatise.

⁶ MS Paris, Mazarine 569, fol. 80v, ascribes it to John: "Incipit tractatus fratris Iohannis Gallensis de arte predicandi." According to Professor Caplan (*Handlist* [1934], p. 14), MS Troyes, Bibl. Publ. 1922, which I have not seen, designates Humbert as the author.

⁷ "Les Auteurs de 'Artes praedicandi' au XIII^e siècle d'après les manuscrits," *Publications de l'institut d'études médiévales d'Ottawa*, I, 55 ff.

⁸ *Histoire littéraire de la France par les religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de S. Maur.* ... (Paris, 1733 ff.), XXI, 86.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XXV, 178.

¹⁰ For the date of Add., see *Catalogue of additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCLV-MDCCCLX* (London, 1875), p. 338; for that of Roy., G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *British Museum catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's collections* (London, 1921), I, 107; for that of Bodl., F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *Summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1922), II, I, 130; for that of Univ., H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS qui in Collegiis Aulicis Ozoniensibus hodie adserantur* (Oxford, 1852), I, 10; for that of Camb., *Catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1858), III, 510. For the date of Harl., I rely upon Caplan, *Handlist* (1934), p. 22; the date of the MS is not given in *Catalogue of the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum* (1808).

I wish to state here that I am indebted to Mr. Harold Russell, reference librarian of the University of Minnesota, for the page references in nn. 8 and 9, above, and for the first of the references in this note; and that I am similarly indebted to Miss Katherine M. Hall, reference librarian of the University of Chicago, for the rest of the items in this note, except the citation from Caplan.

Copies of the original treatise are found in Switzerland, England, Spain, France, Italy, and Germany.¹¹ All the manuscripts containing the work here presented, on the contrary, appear in British libraries.¹² Further, various personal names which are found in the manuscripts are English. The names of Thomas Browne and Thomas Walker, previous owners, appear in Univ.¹³ According to a remark at the end of Add., that manuscript once belonged to William Woddrest.¹⁴ The name of the scribe of Camb. was John Malberthorp, and the manuscript was once owned by Richard Cleypoole.¹⁵ Roy. was formerly in the possession of Archbishop Cranmer; and an inscription at the end, now lost, contained the names of T. Eyburhale and John Pye, to whom the manuscript had belonged.¹⁶ According to the *Summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Bodl. was written in England.¹⁷ All these facts make it practically certain that this little treatise is of English provenance.

The six manuscript texts agree closely in all important respects, though I have found 162 trifling variant readings among them. A careful study of these variants discloses the fact that no one of the extant texts is the immediate source of any of the others. Since it would require considerable space to print all the manuscript readings, and since there are no serious differences among the redactions, I include among the notes only enough variants to make clear the independence of each text. I record three or four instances in which each manuscript offers a reading peculiar to itself; in each of these cases the other manuscripts present identical readings. Now it is evident that several scribes, independently copying the same work, will not in several cases change precisely the same word or phrase to precisely the same synonym. But each of these texts, if it is the original of one of the others, contains several instances in which such a change occurs. Therefore, the probability is overwhelming that no one of them is the immediate source of any of the others. This independence of the known manuscripts suggests that at one time a fairly large number of copies of the treatise existed; in other words, that this *forma predicandi* was a popular one.

¹¹ Caplan, *Handlist* (1934), pp. 5-6, 13-14.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹³ Coxe, I, 10.

¹⁴ *Catalogue of additions to the MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 338.

¹⁵ *Catalogue of MSS . . . in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, III, 513.

¹⁶ Warner and Gilson, I, 107.

¹⁷ II, i, 130.

[FORMA PREDICANDI]¹⁸

Predicacio est thematis assumpcio, eiusdem thematis diuisio, thematis diuisi¹⁹ subdivisio, concordanciarum congrua cotacio, & auctori-

¹⁸ To show that the treatise attributed to John of Wales is the source of the present text, and to show how the materials of the source have been used, I quote the following from John's(?) treatise. I use the text of MS Basle, Universitätsbibl. A. viii. 1. The texts of this work which I have seen (besides the one cited) they include MSS Paris, Maz. 569; Vatican, Ottob. 396; Berlin, Preuss.-Staatsbibl., Theol. Qu. 298; Paris, Bibl. Nat. 15005) differ somewhat among themselves in some portions, but one parallels about as nearly as another the text here edited. Professor Caplan has very kindly lent me the photostats of all the MSS mentioned in this paragraph.

Fol. 148r: "*Predicacio est invocato Dei auxilio, proponiti thematis diuidendo & concordando congrue, clara & deuota expositio ad intellectus catholicam ilustracionem & affectus caritatum inflamacionem. [In about two hundred and fifty words the author demonstrates that the definition of preaching here given is a proper one. He then continues, fol. 148v:] Tercio, potest per singula verba notari dicta descriptio, ut appareat quod nichil superfluum nichilque deminutum contineat dicta descriptio, sed per ordinem continet totam predicationis seriem; ad cuius euidentiam oportet totam predicationis seriem declarare, ut pateat quod ipsa tota in dicta descriptio contineatur. Est ergo sciendum quod in predicatione congrua sic oportet procedere: Primo thema quasi totius operis fundamentum promittere in quo omnia dicenda virtualiter contineantur. Secundo oportet subiungere prothema, quod sic dictum est quia est propter principale thema. & utrumque debet esse ex aliqua auctoritate sacri canonis, maxime thema, quod semper debet esse de verbis Bible sump-tum. Assumitur autem prothema ut per ipsum fiat quedam via ad diuinum auxilium impetrandum & implorandum, quod necessarium est propter sequencia que in predicationis processu sunt dicenda. Pertinent enim ad sapienciam que est Domini Spiritus Sancti. Dona vero Spiritus Sancti non nisi per oracionem deuotam impetrantur. Nam in petitionibus est ut impetrentur dona in donis, ut impleantur precepta in preceptis, ut beati-tudo consequatur. & hec inuenit quedam glosa super Matheam. Promittatur igitur prothema ut diuina gracia & sapiencia impetre[n]tur. Post hoc vero repeti debet primum thema. & facto aliquo decenti introitu, ut non videatur quod verba thematis occasionaliter sed racionabiliter assumpta [fuerunt], demum debet thema per minutas sententias que nominantur in themate diuidi, sicut in proximo patebit. Post hoc vero primum uel 2^a membrorum, quod magis proposito competit, subdividi debet, uel omnia sunt subdividenda si oportet. [The author then explains in a few lines why subdivision is necessary, and continues, fol. 149v:] Post hoc vero omnia subdivisionis membra vocaliter et realiter per auctoritates canonis concordare oportet, & post hoc singulas auctoritates clare & deuote exponere; ad quod agendum valde congruum est sanctorum auctoritates cum canonis auctoribus adducere, sed quod proposito competit. & hoc super usque in finem agendum est. [The treatise then declares that a sermon should end with prayer, explains why, and continues:] Vt autem ea que dicta sunt clarius elucescant, proponatur tale thema: Beatus vir qui timet Dominum. & proponatur tale prothema, Beati qui audiunt. In quo inuenitur quod verbum Dei inducit nos ad eternam retributionem."*

From this point forward the abstract follows the original very closely, though continuing to omit all material not strictly necessary for a description of the proper form for a sermon. The text here edited is taken entirely from the second chapter of the original treatise, which has four chapters. They contain (1) an explanation of the different kinds of preaching, (2) a description of "the best and most difficult" form, (3) a detailed explanation of ways of constructing the different parts of a sermon, and (4) a discussion of appropriate adaptation of sermon to situation.

I may remark in passing that John's(?) treatise, like the one derived from it, was evidently quite popular; it is thought that there are twenty complete and incomplete MSS of it extant. The reader should be warned, however, that there were various methods of composing sermons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see the *Handlist, passim*) and that John's(?) tract and that here edited describe but one.

¹⁹ Add. omits *diuisi*.

tatum adductarum clara & deuota explanacio ad Domini cultus amplitudinem, ecclesie militantis illustracionem & humani affectus erga Deum inclinacionem. Hec descriptio predicacionis nihil continet superfluum nec diminutum, sed per ordinem continet totius predicacionis seriem. Pro quo est sciendum quod in predicacione habente debitam formam oportet sic procedere: Primo oportet thema proponere in quo omnia dicenda virtualiter sunt contenta. Secundo oportet antethema componere & ad propositum ampliare vt per ipsum fiat quedam via ad diuinum auxilium implorandum.²⁰ Post hoc²¹ debet repeti thema principale. & tunc fiat alia breuis decensque²² introductio vt videatur quod thema fuit racionabiliter sumptum.²³ Deinde²⁴ procedendum est ad diuisionem²⁵ thematis, cuius diuisionis membra per auctoritates Bible sunt confirmanda. Deinde procedendum est ad subdiviisionem membrorum thematis diuisi, & consequenter omnia membra subdiviisionis per auctoritates Bible sunt probanda seu confirmanda, & ille²⁶ auctoritates sic adducte per auctoritates sanctorum doctorum debent explanari vsque ad finem.²⁷

Et vt hec²⁸ clarius videantur, ponamus exemplum. & proponatur

²⁰ In regarding the protheme as only a means of introducing the necessary prayer, the author follows his source, but differs with other authorities. The author of a treatise attributed to a Henry of Hesse says: "Prothema est prelocutio facta pro approbatione terminorum predicabilium in themate positorum" (see H. Caplan, "Henry of Hesse" on the art of preaching," *PMLA*, XLVIII, 349). By "approbatione" "Henry" means, as the context shows, making clear the—or a—truth and importance of the statement contained in the theme. The author of the "Aquinas" tract (see H. Caplan, "A late medieval tractate on preaching," *Studies in rhetoric and public speaking in honor of James Albert Winans* [New York, 1925]), too, regards the protheme as "made for the proof of the terms of preaching present in the theme" (p. 74), and would have prayers follow the original statement of the theme and the announcement of the divisions of the theme (pp. 75 and 89).

²¹ Add. has *post oraciones*.

²² Roy. has *dicensque*. All other MSS have *decens(que)*.

²³ Authors of *artes predicandi* did not agree upon the necessity of this introduction. "Henry of Hesse's" treatise, the "Aquinas" tract, and the treatise which in Univ. follows immediately the one here edited (*Handlist*, No. 144) omit it. John(?) of course includes it, as does the tract "In sermonibus construendis" (*Handlist*, No. 71), which Caplan wrongly thinks may be related to John's(?).

²⁴ Bodl. has *denique*.

²⁵ Roy. has *diuisiones*. All other MSS have *diuisionem*.

²⁶ Harl. has *iste*.

²⁷ Compare this brief, yet clear and comprehensive, statement of the proper organization of a sermon with the much more detailed but obscure and sketchy treatment of the same matter in "Henry's" treatise.

²⁸ Roy. has *et ad hec*. All other MSS have *et hec*.

hoc thema: *Beatus vir qui timet Dominum*.²⁹ & accipiat pro antethemate hec auctoritas: *Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei*.³⁰ & dicatur sic: In hoc verbo potestis videre³¹ quod deuota audicio verbi Dei inducit nos ad eternam beatitudinem.³² Ideo si volueritis eterne beatitudinis esse participes, oportet vos libenter & deuote audire verbum Dei. Ideo in principio nostri sermonis rogemus Deum vt mihi det gratiam proponendi & vobis gratiam audiendi id quod sit ad honorem Dei & salutem omnium animarum vestrarum, & cetera.

Post hec debet thema a capite repeti & per auctoritatem Biblie, vel alicuius doctorum, vel per rationem,³³ vel per exemplum, vel alicuius alio³⁴ modo introduci, verbi gracia. Dicatur sic: *Beatus vir*³⁵ qui timet Dominum, vt prius. Karissimi, sicut docet beatus³⁶ Augustinus, Timor a malo hominem retrahit & ad virtutes quibus ad beatitudinem peruenitur disponendo inducit. Ergo introitus ad beatitudinem est timere Deum. & hoc est quod notatur in themate quod premittitur, *Beatus vir qui timet Dominum*.³⁷

In quibus verbis sic introductis tria se offerunt pro materia sermonis: Primo, videlicet, hominis ad bonum³⁸ prima dispositio; secundo, virtutum moralium interna perfectio; & 3^o, premiorum sperandorum eterna retribucio. Primum, scilicet, hominis ad bonum³⁹ prima dispositio,⁴⁰ notatur cum dicitur, qui timet Dominum; secundum, scilicet, virtutum moralium interna perfectio, notatur in hoc quod dicitur, vir; sed tercium, scilicet, premiorum sperandorum eterna retribucio, notatur in eo quod premittitur, beatus. Et hec tria inter se habunt ordinem. Nam ex dispositione hominis ad bonum causatur virtutum moralium perfectio; & ad virtutum moralium perfectionem sequitur eterna retribucio.

²⁹ Camb. has *Beatus vir Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei*, crossed out, and gives as the theme *Beatus vir qui sperat in Domino*. The theme of the printed text is from Psalms 111:1.

³⁰ Luke 11:28.

³¹ Univ. has *audire vel videre*.

³² Univ. has *ad vite eterne beatitudinem*.

³³ Bodl., Camb., and Univ. have *sicut ait beatus*; Add. has *sic beatus*.

³⁴ See n. 23.

³⁵ Add. has *ad Deum*.

³⁶ Camb. omits everything between *prima dispositio* and in *eo quod premittitur, beatus*.

³⁷ Camb. has *doctoris manifeste per*.

³⁸ All MSS but Roy. have *vel alio*.

³⁹ Bodl. omits *vir*.

⁴⁰ Add. has *ad Deum*.

Post hec procedendum est ad subdiviisionem illius⁴¹ membri⁴² de quo fuerit magis ad propositum, sic dicendo: Primo, inquam, in verbis premissis⁴³ notatur premiorum sperandorum eterna retribucio cum premittitur beatus. Pro quo est aduertendum quod in sacra scriptura inuenitur aliquis 3^{ter} beatus, scilicet beatus solo nomine, vt patet in diuitibus, beatus firma spe, vt patet in viatoribus,⁴⁴ & aliquis beatus in re, vt patet in comprehensoribus. & sic patet vnius membri subdiviisio.

Post hec membra subdiviisionis sunt per ordinem repetenda isto modo. Primo, inquam, dixi aliquis dicitur beatus solo nomine, vt patet in diuitibus. Vulgariter, enim, dicitur homines diuites temporaliter esse beatos,⁴⁵ & hoc non ex copia virtutum spiritualium, sed sola fama & opinione seculariter viuencium. Vnde scribitur in Psalmo, Promptuariorum plena, eructantia ex hoc in illud.⁴⁶ & paulo post scribitur, Beatum dixerunt populum cui hec sunt.⁴⁷ Ecce, habes primum membrum subdiviisionis non tantum vocaliter sed realiter concordatum.⁴⁸

Post hec procedendum est ad expositionem concordantie adducte, que tunc potissime exponitur si ad eius explanacionem auctoritates Biblie & auctoritates sanctorum adducantur, verbi gracia. Accipiat predicta auctoritas adducta de Psalmo, scilicet, Beatum dixerunt populum, et cetera. Hec sunt, scilicet, homines qui tantum terrena sapiunt. Huius populum dixerunt beatum, scilicet, qui habunt promp-

⁴¹ Harl. has *iatius*.

⁴² The author contradicts himself in a minor way by saying in the first paragraph, "Deinde procedendum est ad subdiviisionem membrorum thematis," and then here providing that a model sermon shall contain the subdivision of only one division of the theme. This lack of consistency springs from a sentence in his source which the author has not reproduced: "Post hoc [the announcement of the divisions of the theme] vero primum uel 2^o membrorum, quod magis proposito competit, subdividi debet, uel omnia sunt subdividenda si oportet" (fol. 149^r). Attempting to be brief, the author of the abstract first assumes without explanation that all the members will be discussed, and then that only one will be.

⁴³ Univ. omits in . . . *premissis*.

⁴⁴ Pilgrims are used as an illustration of those who have a firm faith, doubtless because of an association of ideas in the author's mind created by some such passage as Hebrews 11:13: "Iuxta fidem defuncti sunt omnes isti, non acceptis repromissionibus, sed a longe eas aspicientes, et salutantes, et confitentes quia peregrini, et hospites sunt super terram." When the author comes to his discussion of this member of the subdivision in his text below, he makes no reference to wayfarers, evidently because he means only to suggest there a possible beginning of the discussion.

⁴⁵ Harl. has *omnes diuites esse bonos*.

⁴⁶ Psalms 143:13.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴⁸ In this paragraph the author shows that the member of the subdivision which he is discussing is "confirmed" by Scripture. In the next he will explain the sense in which Scripture declares the rich to be blessed; cf. the end of the first paragraph of the treatise.

tuaria plena, oues & boues.⁴⁹ Talem, inquam, populum dixerunt beatum. Sed certe cor eorum non erat rectum, nec fideles habitati sunt, & cetera;⁵⁰ quia in bonis temporalibus non est querenda beatitudo. Propter quod bene de talibus dixit Ysaïas, Popule meus, qui te beatum dicunt, ipsi te decipiunt,⁵¹ & cetera.⁵² Sed vere ille potius est beatus qui est Deo subiectus. Vnde sequitur in auctoritate, Beatus populus cuius est Dominus Deus eius.⁵³ Cui & concordat beatus Augustinus, Cuius sunt opera Deo accepta & grata, ille seruus Dei est, & ille solus beatus⁵⁴ dici potest. Ex istis potest videri qualiter auctoritas Biblie adducta exponitur, & quomodo ad explanacionem illa auctoritas Ysaïe adducatur & tandem testimonio Augustini confirmatur.

Postea procedendum est ad 2^m membrum subdiviisionis sicut prius, verbi gracia. Secundo, inquam, dixi quod quis dicitur beatus firma spe vt patet in viatoribus. De quo scribitur in Psalmo, Gustate & videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus; beatus vir qui sperat in eo.⁵⁵ & similiter est exponenda & confirmanda hec auctoritas sicut prius.

& tunc procedendum est ad vltimum membrum subdiviisionis, sic dicendo: 3^o, inquam, dixi quod inuenitur aliquis beatus veraciter in re, vt patet in comprehensoribus. De quibus habetur in Psalmo, Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine, in eternum.⁵⁶ Ad quam nos perducatur qui sine fine viuunt & regnant.⁵⁷

Ecce habes omnia membra subdiviisionis concordata & modum exponendi & confirmandi concordancias iam adductas.

Explicit forma predicandi.

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⁴⁹ For the source of *oues & boues* see Psalms 143:13-14.

⁵⁰ Psalms 77:37: "... nec fideles habitati sunt in testimonio eius."

⁵¹ Add. *has te seducunt*.

⁵² Psalms 143:15.

⁵³ Isaiah 3:12.

⁵⁴ Bodl. omits *beatus*.

⁵⁵ Psalms 33:9.

⁵⁶ Psalms 83:5: "Beati, qui habitant in domo tua, Domine: in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te."

⁵⁷ This sentence or its equivalent, according to the author of the original tract, should appear in sermons at this point: "In fine sermonis peticio eterno glorie reseruetur" (fol. 150^r).

SPENSER'S RELATION TO CERTAIN DOCUMENTS ON IRELAND

V. B. HULBERT

FIFTY years ago Alexander B. Grosart in his life of Edmund Spenser called the attention of the scholarly world to three papers on Irish affairs, now summarized in the *Calendar of state papers relating to Ireland*.¹ They are in the well-known handwriting of Sir Dudley Carleton and "all are carefully noted by him as written by Spenser (spelled 'Spencer')":² (1) *A briefe note of Ireland*, a short topographical tract; (2) a document addressed "To the Queene"; (3) a plot to bring peace to Ireland headed "Certaine points to be considered of in the recouery of the Realme of Ireland."

On the basis of Sir Dudley Carleton's indorsement and the contents of the papers Grosart interprets them as a series of state papers drawn up by Edmund Spenser shortly before his death; he regards them as vital Spenserian documents inasmuch as they show the poet's mental state after the sack of Kilcolman:

... between the 9th and 24th of December, 1598, Spenser and his wife and family arrived in London. That he so arrived in no panic-terror or as having lost his head, is proved by a State-Paper addressed by him to the Queen direct. . . . It was prepared—as the commencement shows—in Cork after the escape from Kilcolman. That alone witnesses to solidity and courage. It was delivered doubtless by Spenser himself in London to the Secretary of State, along with the "Dispatch" of Norreys of 9th December.³

In this quotation Grosart is referring to the second of the three documents. Concerning the first and third he says:

There comes first "A briefe note of Ireland"—most noticeable for its very commonplace of topographical information. The pulse of the man who wrote it was not fevered. . . . Finally . . . the "Certaine Pointes" are very much

¹ *Calendar of state papers relating to Ireland, 1598-1599* (London, 1895), pp. 431-33. See also Alexander B. Grosart, *The complete works in verse and prose of Edmund Spenser*, I, 230-35. The contents of the papers are reproduced on pp. 537-55. An article in the *Dublin University magazine*, LVIII (August, 1861), 129-44, first connected these papers with Edmund Spenser, the poet, but the writer of the article does not appreciate, according to Grosart, their full significance.

² Grosart, p. 230.

³ *Ibid.*

a condensation of the *Veue of Ireland* and tell us that whatever of sorrow and disappointment had come upon its writer, he was lion-hearted still and bated no jot of hope and resolution.⁴

Since Grosart's time these three documents have been regarded as unquestionably from Spenser's pen.⁵

Let us, for the time being, waive the question of the indorsement and try to decide whether or not these three documents are Spenser's by a comparison of their contents with that of *A view of the present state of Ireland*, for, though Grosart connects only the third tract with *A view of Ireland*, still all three of them, if they are by Spenser, might be expected to show some affinity with *A view of Ireland* whenever they deal with similar matters. If my readers should decide that the three papers on such grounds give little indication of being the poet's, "Spencer" is perhaps not Edmund Spenser, and the generalizations which Grosart drew on the basis of them as to the poet's mental and spiritual state after his flight from Kilcolman are not to be accepted without question.

In the first place, except that *A briefe note of Ireland* and *A view of . . . Ireland* define the term "plowland" in terms of acres, they contain no information in common. Even in estimating the number of plowlands in Ireland, the author of *A briefe note* is interested in the number of arable plowlands; Spenser in the total number of plowlands.⁶ The tabulation of what parts of Ireland have actually come

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ See C. Litton Falkiner, "Spenser in Ireland," *Essays relating to Ireland* (London, 1909), p. 26; the articles on Spenser in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (William Minto and Frederick John Snell) and the *DNB* (J. W. Hales and Sidney Lee); Pauline Henley, *Spenser in Ireland* (Cork and London, 1928), pp. 160-66; H. S. V. Jones, *A Spenser handbook* (New York, 1930), pp. 36 and 378. These three documents are often mentioned under the title of the first, *A briefe note of Ireland*, and treated as if they were one whereas, so far as I can ascertain from Grosart's reprint of them, each has its own heading and each is definitely distinguished from the other two in style and tone. Actually *A briefe note* is barely a page long; Miss Henley, however, humorously mentions Spenser's "'Briefe Note of Ireland,' which runs to ten pages" (p. 161). Influenced largely by the temper of the second of the three documents, the letter addressed "To the Queene," Miss Henley, moreover, reacts emotionally to them quite differently from the way Grosart does; she says: "This unworthy document with its angry whining tone was his [Spenser's] last contribution to the subject of Irish affairs. One can excuse and sympathise with the anger, but the exaggerated commiseration of himself and the other sufferers repels, especially when it is remembered how little thought he had for the agonies of those they had supplanted. One would have expected a manlier tone from one 'not without experience in the service of wars'" (pp. 165-66).

⁶ I am assuming that Spenser is using the term "plowland" regardless of its etymological significance, merely as a unit of measurement. If by any chance he means arable land, then *A briefe note* and *A view of . . . Ireland* differ in their estimates of the amount of

under the crown by right of royal inheritance,⁷ the table numbering the towns in Ireland as a whole and in each of the five counties,⁸ and the estimate of Edward IV's revenue from various sources⁹—in short, the whole of *A brieve note* deals with matters not touched upon in *A view of . . . Ireland*.

Let us likewise compare the "complaint" headed "To the Queene" with *A view of . . . Ireland*. The point which quite distinguishes the two documents from each other lies in their attitudes toward the Earl of Tyrone. In the following quotation from the complaint, it will be observed that the Earl is treated somewhat sympathetically; Fitzwilliam is condemned severely for his defrauding the Earl of land and, in consequence, of the allegiance of the McMahon; the blame for the Earl's disloyalty is laid, in part, on the influence of other discontented Irish noblemen and the King of Spain and, in part, on his own will, and there is a suggestion that, had the Queen been more diplomatic in handling the Earl, she could have kept him from open rebellion.

The first cause and Roote thereof, was the indirect desire of one persons privat gaine, to whome your majestie Comitted this vnfortunat gournment; whoe whiles he fedd your expectacion with the hope of increasing this your kingdome with a newe Countie (to witt the Countie of Monohan) vnder that pretence sought to enlarge his owne treasure and to infeoffe his sonnes and kinsmen in all the territorie; which might neuertheles haue ben tollerated in regard some good should thereby haue come vnto you, had it not ben wrought by moste iniuste and dishonorable meanes. For after that he had receaved A. B. into your faith and proteccion promissing him to make him Mc. Mahon for 100. beefes, after wards whereas an other of his kinsemen offered 300 he vniustly tooke and honge him and in his stede invested the other;¹⁰ wherevpon the land lords and gentlemen of the Countrie adioyning being terrified with the face of so foule a trecherie, began eftsoones to combine themselues and to labour the Erle of Tireone vnto theire parte; who neutheles did not manifestlie adhere vnto them nor durst breake out into manifest rebellion, but taking onely dislike of such bad dealing, begann to finde greuance at the gournment (as in deed vnder correction me seems some cause he had): for first he might feare by that example lest he might be intrapped in the like;

such land, for the former gives 38,690 plowlands; the latter, 43,920 plowlands (Grosart, p. 537; *A view of . . . Ireland*, in *The works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. R. Morris [London, 1904], p. 666).

⁷ Grosart, p. 537.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 537-38.

¹⁰ See the account of Fitzwilliam and the McMahons in Richard Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors* (London, 1890), III, 201-3, 237, and notes. By A. B. must be meant Hugh Roe.

then was he by this new Countizing of the Countie of Monohan, both to loose that seignorie which he claimed of the land and all so that service which he claimed of Macmahon; who by holding now of your Majesty should be freed from his challenge. Lastly he was by some his friends made to beleve (whether trulie or no god knowes) that ther was a practise priville wrought by the deputie either against his life or libertie;¹¹ where vpon he kept him selfe aloofe and durst not comitt his saftie in to the gouernor yet offred still if he might haue leave to come into England freele to iustifie him selfe before your Majestie; which whether he so trulie meant is vncertaine yet that leave should not haue ben denied, since if he had not performed it he might haue bene in tyme discouered before he had growne vnto this head that now he is.¹² But so sone as the rest which then were out, felt him thus wauering and doubtfully disposed, they increased his offence with daily causes of dislike vntill such tyme as they might practiz with your Majesties aduersarie the king of Spaine to drawe him to his partie and not with (out) strong feares and vaine hopes to feed his euill humor. . . . Yet all this while matters might haue bene so managed as that he might well enough haue bene contained in reasonable termes but that some were allwaies against it who coveted nothing more then to alien him for your obedience and to Minister newe matter of Jelousies still against him.¹³

Spenser views the Earl of Tyrone in an entirely different light. He is to Spenser a combination of treachery and cunning: "He playeth like the frozen snake, whoe being for compassion relieved by the husbandman, soone after he was warm began to hisse, and threaten danger to him and his."¹⁴ So far from thinking of him as an important chieftain deprived wrongfully of land and subjects, Spenser regards him as the "most out-cast of all the O'Neales . . . lifted by her Majestie out of the dust, to that he hath now wrought himself unto."¹⁵ As for his claim to Monaghan, Spenser makes clear his attitude through his mouthpiece Irenaeus:

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 235 and 242.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 237 ff. These pages discuss the Earl's pretended submission to the Crown; they make no mention of his rejected plea for permission to go to England so that he might justify himself before the Queen. On p. 265, however, we find that such an offer was known to Captain Thomas Lee, a friend of Tyrone—the Lee who was later hanged for his share in the Essex conspiracy.

¹³ Grosart, pp. 539–41. The abbreviations in Grosart's text have been expanded and the typography modernized.

For the part Spain played in Tyrone's rebellion see Bagwell, pp. 245 ff. The picture of Tyrone in the complaint might well be compared to that left by Captain Thomas Lee, since they have points in common (Bagwell, pp. 238–39 and n. 12 of this paper). The similarity is of interest inasmuch as it may indicate that there is more truth in Lee's testimony than Bagwell leads us to believe.

¹⁴ *A view of . . . Ireland*, p. 658.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

For the right of O-Neale in the signiorye of the Northe, it is surely none at all: For beside that the Kinges of England conquered all the realme, and thereby assumed and invested all the right of that land to themselves and their heyres and successours for ever, soe as nothing was left in O-Neale but what he receaved backe from them, O-Neale himselfe never had any auncient signiorye in that countrey, but what by usurpation and encroachment, after the death of the Duke of Clarence, he gott upon the English, whose landes and possessions being formerly wasted by the Scotts, under the leading of Edward le Bruce, (as I formerly declared unto you) he eft-sones entred into, and sithence hath wrongfullye detayned, through the other occupations and great affayres which the Kinges of England (soone after) fell into heere at home, soe as they could not intend to the recoverye of that countrey of the Northe, nor the restrayning of the insolencye of O-Neale; whoe, finding none nowe to withstand him, raigned in that desolation, and made himselfe Lorde of those fewe people that remayned there, upon whom ever since he hath continued his first usurped power, and nowe exacteth and extorteth upon all men what he list: soe that nowe to subdue or expell an usurper, should be noe unjust enterprize nor wrongfull warre, but a restitution of auncient right unto the crowne of England, from whence they were most unjustlye expelled and longe kept out.

Eudoxus' reply—"I am verie gladd herin to be thus satisfied by you, that I may better satisfye them whom often I have hearde object these doubttes, and slaunderously to barke at the courses which are held agaynst that trayterous Earle and his adherentes"¹⁶—is surely an indication that Spenser sympathized with Fitzwilliam's efforts to recover Monaghan for the crown. In addition there is no suggestion in *A view of . . . Ireland* that the actions of Fitzwilliam, the Earl's fear for his freedom and life, and the persuasions of the Irish nobles had any part in shaping the Earl's course; the origin of Tyrone's defection lay, according to Spenser, in that mistaken policy which led England to support the Earl against Tirlogh Luineach and thereby unwittingly to place power and strength in the former's hands.¹⁷ This, then, is Spenser's attitude toward Tyrone, his rights, and his rebellion—a decided contrast, indeed, to that of the complaint.

Perhaps, before we leave the complaint, we should notice what it reports about Sir John Norris. In tracing the growing disloyalty of Tyrone, it stresses the point that the conflicting policies of Sir William Russell and Sir John Norris gave occasion for such an increase. "Of which the one [Russell] being sharplie bent to prosecute him the other

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 659.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 658; cf. Bagwell, III, 218-21.

[Norris] thought by good treaties rather [to] wynn him to make fair warrs. But by some it was thought that the onely purpose of Sir John Norris in handling things after that sort was to obtaine the absolute government to him selfe."¹⁸ That Sir John Norris could be easily defended against such malicious criticism is obvious if one will read Bagwell's account of *Ireland under the Tudors*, from 1595, when Norris was appointed general with absolute power over all the forces of Ireland, until his death in 1597.¹⁹ Moreover, when one considers what we know about the relationship of Spenser to the Norris', it seems most improbable that Spenser would have recorded such gossip without indicating the reasons for which it was to be dismissed as the slander of vindictive tongues. From 1584 until his death Sir John Norris was Lord President of Munster, with Sir Thomas acting as his deputy; during these years Spenser held official appointments, the dates of which are somewhat difficult to determine, and received the grant of Kilcolman. There is no indication that he was not on the most amiable terms with the brothers. In fact, what evidence we have of Spenser's connection with them gives us reason to believe that it was of a friendly sort—Bryskett includes both Sir Thomas and Spenser in the group of friends who gathered in his house near Dublin; one of Spenser's dedicatory sonnets prefaced to the *Faerie Queene* lauds Sir John; at the very time of the writing of the complaint we find Spenser twice being employed by Sir Thomas to deliver messages to the government. All that we know of Spenser's loyalty (and we must remember that at the time of the writing of the complaint Sir John was dead) makes it unlikely that the slanderous sentence was from his pen.²⁰

According to Grosart, the last of the three documents which we are

¹⁸ Grosart, pp. 541-42.

¹⁹ III, 251 ff.

²⁰ Perhaps I should have stressed in my text that there is no doubt of Spenser's sympathy with the policy of Sir William Russell and regret that the latter was not given a free hand to carry it into execution (see *A view of . . . Ireland*, p. 660). There are also other points of similarity between the complaint and *A view of . . . Ireland*: a discussion of Irish hatred of English laws and customs; an account of the loose and lawless manners of the Irish; the plotting which occurs at their assemblies; the unjust exactions of sheriffs and assessors; but such material is common to many a contemporary document dealing with conditions in Ireland (see references in Carpenter's *Reference guide to Edmund Spenser* [Chicago, 1923], pp. 206 ff.). Both documents likewise agree that Munster should have a garrison and should bear the cost of its maintenance. The complaint, however, estimates that Munster could support three thousand to four thousand soldiers; Spenser estimates one thousand—a difference in detail which does away with whatever significance one might attach to the fact that they both urge the necessity of a garrison (Grosart, p. 547; *A view of . . . Ireland*, p. 668).

considering, "Certaine points to be considered of in the recouery of the Realme of Ireland," practically "adumbrates" *A view of . . . Ireland*—"How thorough and how in exact agreement with the *Veue of Ireland* is this second State-Paper [Grosart prints it in his index as the third] may here be suggestively indicated by a similar but fuller noting of the several 'pointes' that are presented and discussed."²¹ Nevertheless, when the agreements which Grosart sees are examined, they will be found to consist merely in this: that in both documents the writers advocate force, as did Sidney and Norris and probably many another Englishman of the day.²² Then, when one compares in detail the two plans, one fails to see how Grosart could call such agreement "thorough and exact." For example, both documents suggest that, before the opening of hostilities, a general pardon be extended to all who wish to submit to the crown; but "Certaine points" limits the extent of the pardon to ten or twelve days; Spenser would have it held open twenty days.²³ Again, the plots differ in their estimates of the time and the number of troops needed for the subduing of Ireland: "Certaine points" states that it will take ten thousand men one-half

²¹ After I had decided that this third document was not a résumé of *A view of . . . Ireland* and, moreover, was probably not Spenser's, I noted two comments in Carpenter's *Reference guide to Edmund Spenser* which indicate, perhaps, that he would have agreed with my conclusion. On p. 34, after "A briefe note of Ireland," he adds, "Not the View of Ireland"; on p. 207 "A Briefe Note of Ireland" is followed by the question, "By Spenser?" (Carpenter, like other scholars, refers to the three documents under the title of the first of them.)

For the quotation in the text see Grosart, p. 233.

²² Bagwell, III, 131. Even in urging the use of force, *A view of Ireland* differs from "Certaine points" in being more mild in tone. "Certaine points" implies that Elizabeth ought "to subdue Ireland thoroughly and bring it all under" (Grosart, p. 551), and to do so "great force must be the instrument but famine must be the meane, for till Ireland be famished it can not be subdued" (*ibid.*, p. 553). Spenser is very careful to indicate that he is not proposing extreme measures: ". . . for by the swoorde which I named, I doe not meane the cutting of of all that nation with the swoorde, which farre be it from me that I should ever thinke soe desperately, or wish soe uncharitably, but by the swoorde I meane the royall power of the Prince, which ought to stretche itself foorth in the chiefe strength to the redressing and cutting of of those evils, which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evill." And though he realizes that famine will naturally follow in the wake of conquest and hurry its completion, he bemoans that it necessarily must, picturing so vividly its effect that Eudoxus fears the Queen will never be able to endure the sight of such suffering (*A view of Ireland*, pp. 650-654).

²³ Grosart, p. 555; *A view of . . . Ireland*, pp. 653-54. Spenser urges that the able-bodied men of one county who take advantage of the pardon be scattered over Ireland in such a way that there will be no likelihood of their coming together again. He gives reasons for the wisdom of such a dispersion. In "Certaine points" there is no hint of this method of handling the submissive Irish; instead, that document states that such rebels "haue pardon of life, onelle vpon condicion that theire bodies, theire lands, and theire goods shal be at the disposicion of hlr Majesty" (Grosart, p. 555).

year, three thousand men two years;²⁴ Spenser holds that ten thousand men and one thousand horse will not take "above the space of one yeare and a halfe."²⁵ In particular the method of warfare to be pursued, as indicated in "Certaine points," is diametrically opposed to that suggested by Spenser. "Certaine points" condemns that method of conquest which consists in the placing of garrisons and in repeated attacks by them in certain territories; it urges instead a steadily pursued campaign which is "to be begune in Mounster and from thence to proceede to the rest throughe Kery and Offalye."²⁶ Spenser's plan uses garrisons; the kind of warfare suggested by "Certaine points" is criticized as futile and dangerous.

EUDOXUS. Would you leade forth your armye agaynst the Enemye, and seeke him where he is to fight?

IRENAEUS. Noe, Eudoxus; it would not be, for it is well knowen that he is a flying enemye, hiding himself in woodes and bogges, from whence he will not drawe forth, but into some straite passage or perillous foord, where he knowes the armie must needes passe; there will he lye in wayte, and, yf he finde advantage fitt, will daungerously hazarde the troubled souldiour. Therefore to seeke him out that still flyeth, and followe him that can hardly be founde, were vayne and booteless; but I would devide my men in garrison upon his countrey, in such places as I should thinke might most annoyne him.²⁷

Spenser divides the ten thousand men into detachments and works out in elaborate detail where the garrisons are to be stationed. During the winter months these garrisons are to make repeated and sudden attacks against various Irish chieftans; a year of such warfare will bring the latter to their knees, so that they "will never be able to stand up agayne." Before leaving a comparison of these three documents and *A view of . . . Ireland*, it should be noted that there is no mention in them of Spenser's elaborate plan to keep Ireland peaceful after the conquest by means of garrisons placed in each county, whose support he plans for in great detail by means of a "cesse."²⁸

²⁴ Grosart, p. 554. An earlier passage in "Certaine points" says that the time needed for conquest will vary from one or two years to four or five years according to whether a "greater" or "lesse" force is used (p. 553). It does not give the size of the "greater" and "lesse" force.

²⁵ *A view of . . . Ireland*, p. 651.

²⁶ Grosart, p. 554: ". . . that the laying of garrisons will make but a protractive warr vnles the Queene do first make hir self mistris of the feild. . . .

"All that the garrison can doe is but to take prayes, but if the enemye were once broken he must be forced to scatter and then the garrisons shoulde haue good meanes of service vpon the broken partes."

²⁷ *A view of . . . Ireland*, p. 651.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 651-61. Spenser and the writer of "Certaine points" do not have the same attitude as to the means to be employed in converting Ireland to Protestantism. Accord-

In determining whether or not Sir Dudley Carleton's "Spencer" is Edmund Spenser, every reader will, of course, decide for himself upon the value of the kind of comparison which has just been made between the three documents and *A view of . . . Ireland*. For a great many of the differences in matter, one can find adequate reasons for a change, and so can perhaps still claim the three documents for the poet. Yet two differences which stand out from the comparison seem to me difficult to explain away, even though one might fall back on the truism that Spenser, like other men, could change his mind about anything. One of these differences is between the method of warfare proposed by *A view of . . . Ireland* and that proposed by the last of the three documents; not only are they diametrically opposed, but each writer repudiates emphatically the possibility that the opposite method could be attended with success. The other difference lies in the contrast in attitude toward Tyrone between the *View* and the second of the three documents. Particularly is this second difference difficult to comprehend if we insist that the documents are Spenser's, for it is almost unbelievable that, after the burning of Kilcolman by Tyrone's men, Spenser would abandon the stern censoring of Tyrone which we find in the *View* to adopt the sympathetic attitude toward him which is characteristic of the second of the three documents. And, of course, the moment we are convinced that even one difference between the *View* and the three documents has weight, then all the other dissimilarities in matter and attitude become additional testimony in support of the hypothesis which that single difference suggests.²⁹

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ing to "Certain points," "ther can be no conformitie of gouernment where is no conformitie of religion" (Grosart, p. 554). Spenser stresses the fact that Ireland should first be made whole in body and her spirit should then be administered unto; that her conversion should proceed with tact and understanding; that persuasion rather than force should be used (*A view of . . . Ireland*, pp. 646 and 679).

²⁹ This article has been in the hands of *Modern philology* for some time. In the interval Professor Renwick has published an edition of *A view of the present state of Ireland* (London, 1934); in a postscript (pp. 329-30) he gives his reasons, largely stylistic, for not accepting *A briefe note of Ireland* as Spenser's. In the eyes of Dr. Heffner (*MLN*, January, 1937, p. 58), these stylistic differences have no weight; they are equivalent to an "arbitrary" dismissal of the question—a method rebuked by Dr. Heffner's discovery of the existence of a second manuscript of *A brief note* (B. M. Harl. 3787, 21, 184) which ends with a prophetic doggerel containing the date 1599. Dr. Heffner has not noted that the late Professor Carpenter also doubted the authorship of the document in question (p. 207: "By Spenser?"), and surely no one could accuse Carpenter of arbitrarily dismissing anything.

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CHAPELAIN AND THE GENESIS OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY

COLBERT SEARLES

IN CONSIDERING the part played by Chapelain in the establishment of the French Academy one must forget the satires of Boileau and, what is more difficult, *La Pucelle*. In the 1630's Chapelain's prestige was very great. His *Lettre ou discours* which served as a preface to the *Adone* (1623) of Marini had convinced everybody that he was an authority on poetic doctrine. It was generally believed that the national epic he was going to write would make him immortal. Balzac hailed him in 1634 as "veritablement un grand Poëte, et qui reüssisse esgalement en toutes sortes de genres,"¹ and five years later wrote to M. de Bellejoie: "C'est un personnage de haute vertu, qui est tout Intelligence et tout Raison."²

In 1632, the year in which we find the first mention of an Academy in Chapelain's correspondence, Chapelain came into personal relations with Richelieu. The occasion was a letter to Granier de Mauléon³ in which Chapelain criticized the Cardinal de Bentivoglio for having refrained from passing judgment upon the acts narrated in his *Della guerra di Fiandra* (1632). Boisrobert showed the letter to Richelieu, who opined that it is the business of the historian to narrate and not to pass judgment. This opinion was duly reported to Chapelain, who replied⁴ that he "esteemed himself very unfortunate because he did not agree with his Eminence" and went on to argue his case with tenacity, although with a somewhat distressing abundance of submissive language. He seems to have won thereby the respect and confidence of the Cardinal. Toward the end of the same year Chapelain presented to His Eminence an ode in manuscript. The Cardinal sent it back with comments and criticisms, whereat Chapelain felt highly elated. However, he explained and defended the parts criticized with

¹ *Les Œuvres de M. de Balzac* (Paris, 1615), I, 456.

² *Ibid.*, p. 560.

³ *Lettres de Jean Chapelain*, publiées par Ph. Tamizey de Larroque (Paris, 1880), I, 13 ff.

⁴ In a letter to Boisrobert, *ibid.*, p. 35.

sufficient eloquence to induce Richelieu to have him informed that he was to spare himself the pains which a revision of the passages in question would cost him. Needless to say, Chapelain did not accept this invitation too literally. The ode appeared in the following year. According to Balzac, it was "digne de la bonne Antiquité."⁵ From May of that year (1633) Chapelain was definitely in the Cardinal's service. He received a gratification which was renewed in December and thereafter each year until 1636 when it became a regular pension.

Now early in December, 1632, Chapelain wrote to Godeau. He hopes that Godeau will come to Paris and that "vous nous rendrés mesme l'Académie, de laquelle nous sommes apperçus que vous estes le prince et le chef, ... Cela vous doit tenir préparé à nous faire une belle ouverture et à nous haranguer lorsque nous remonterons sur les fleurs de lis du Parnasse. ..."⁶ The insistence upon the harangue recalls the Académie de Poésie et de Musique founded by Jean-Antoine de Baif in 1570 under the patronage of Charles IX, at whose meetings a harangue was a regular feature. It will be recalled also that the sixteenth-century Academy, according to its patron, had "avec grand'estude et labeur assiduel, unanimement travaillé, pour l'avancement du langage françois."⁷ Chapelain's letter implies that the gatherings *chez* Conrart were more formal and more like what the future Academy was to be than the picture given in the account of Pellisson would indicate.

On the twenty-sixth of March, 1634, some sixteen months after the letter just cited, Chapelain wrote to Balzac:

Ce seroit icy le lieu de vous parler de l'Académie dont Mgr le Cardinal s'est depuis peu rendu le promoteur, et qu'il autorise de sa protection. ... Je suis de cette compagnie par grâce, et par cet honneur je trouve mes charges redoublées, ne jugeant pas qu'il me fust bien séant d'estre de ce corps et de ne pas contribuer à sa perfection tout ce qu'il seroit à ma puissance. Si chacun y apporte autant de zèle que moy, je puis dire sans vanité que nous ferons quelque chose de mieux et de plus utile que toutes les académies d'Italie ensemble; à moins que de se proposer cet avantage, je vous avoue que j'y tiendrois mon temps perdu.⁸

Balzac replied with considerable heat but with no reference to the group which met with Conrart, although he must have known of its existence and its habits.

⁵ *Les Œuvres de M. de Balzac*, I, 357.

⁶ *Lettres*, I, 10, n. 7.

⁷ Edouard Frémy, *L'Académie des derniers Valois* (Paris, s.d.), p. 47. ⁸ *Lettres*, I, 66.

Je n'ay pû m'empescher de rire de la belle nouvelle de vostre Lettre. Vous me mandez que vous avez esté receû par grâce dans l'Académie des beaux Esprits; Et moy je voudrois vous demander qui a receû les beaux Esprits qui vous ont receû. D'où vient le principe de l'autorité, et la source de la Mission? Qui sont ces grands Personnages qui ont fait grâce à Monsieur Chapelain? De quelles contrées nouvellement descouvertes, viennent ces hommes extraordinaires, qui pour faire grâce à Monsieur Chapelain, doivent valoir un peu plus que Monsieur le Cardinal du Perron, et que Monsieur le President de Thou.⁹

The labor of which Chapelain complained was, no doubt, in large part his activity in formulating the purposes of the Academy and in drawing up the statutes by which it was to be governed. He is generally credited with having done the lion's share of this preliminary work. But I believe there is evidence that the Cardinal took a more active part, though probably in an editorial capacity, than has generally been supposed. Early in December, 1634, Chapelain wrote to Boisrobert at Ruel, where the Cardinal was in residence:

Monsieur, sans vous nommer le grand homme duquel vous m'apportastes hier les commandemens, je vous diray que l'honneur qu'il m'a fait est si excessif que j'ay peur de ne le pouvoir porter. J'assurerais bien que ses pensées sont miennes, puisqu'il l'ordonne ainsi, mais il sera difficile que le monde le croie, voyant l'inégalité qu'il y a entre mes ordinaires productions et ces extraordinaires merveilles. Que si l'on m'en estime l'auteur, on pensera qu'il se sera fait un miracle en moy et que ma foiblesse tout d'un coup se soit convertie en une extrême force. Au reste je ne suis pas sans scrupule de luy voler la gloire qui m'en reviendra sans que j'y aye aucun mérite. Et toutesfois je ne la luy desrobe pas puisqu'il me la donne si libéralement et qu'il me fait cette grâce de son mouvement propre. ... Je vous renvoye son original et la copie qu'il a désiré que j'en fisse pour en disposer comme vos ordres le portent et demeure, Monsieur, vostre, etc.¹⁰

Tamizey de Larroque, editor of the correspondence of Chapelain, wondered if this letter might refer to the plan of the *Comédie des Tuileries*, the first production of the Société des Cinq Auteurs, done under the supervision of Chapelain in 1635. This surmise is accepted and defended by M. Collas, the most recent biographer of Chapelain. Now there is a letter which does refer unmistakably to the *Comédie des Tuileries*. It is dated the twenty-fourth of January, at least six weeks after the composition of the letter just cited. For Chapelain to

⁹ *Œuvres*, I, 727. Though dated September 22, 1636, the letter is clearly of April, 1634, as Tamizey de Larroque has shown (I, 66, n. 3).

¹⁰ *Lettres*, I, 84

have let six weeks pass before showing any signs of activity in carrying out a commission from Richelieu would be a procedure quite without precedent in the history of his relations with the Cardinal. His correspondence during this period shows him much busied with other matters.

Moreover, it is all but impossible that the two letters could refer to the same thing. In the second letter Chapelain writes to Boisrobert: "Monsieur, je ne vous diray point avec quel respect et quelle joye je receus le commandement que Monseigneur me faisoit de travailler au dessein d'une comédie d'apparat dont il se veut divertir, puisque ce fust vous qui me le portastes."¹¹ In the earlier letter to Boisrobert it is distinctly indicated that Chapelain was to do nothing but make a copy of what the Cardinal had sent and to *use* it, not *work* upon it, as he was directed. What the Cardinal sent in the first place is described as a finished product. The plan of the *Comédie d'apparat* is in such a state that he, Chapelain, has "tasché par un effort de l'Art de donner un essay de la parfaite comédie, en sorte que la sévérité des règles n'y ruinast point l'agrément, que l'invention et la disposition y fussent exquises et nouvelles," etc., etc.¹² If he, Chapelain, had not taken this trouble, "Monseigneur en eust eu moins de satisfaction et son nom en eust été moins glorifié."¹³

One of the chief reasons which inclines M. Collas to believe that the first letter refers to the *Comédie des Tuileries* is that he could find no trace in the works of Chapelain of a writing which could be attributed to Richelieu.¹⁴ That may very well be, but the letter could refer to the final form of the *Statuts de l'Académie française*. The letter in question is undated, but Chapelain, who was nothing if not methodical, left it in the manuscript copies of his letters, which he had arranged carefully in chronological order, between two letters of which the first is dated November 27, 1634, and the second December 12 of the same year. The letter must have been written, then, during the last three days of November or the first twelve of December. Pellisson, citing the *Régistres* of the Academy as of December 4, 1634, represents Chapelain and his colleagues as giving the final form to the *Statuts* of which Chapelain is credited with being the chief author.

Richelieu's motive for concealing his part in the affair is quite ap-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁴ Georges Collas, *Jean Chapelain* (Paris, 1912), pp. 115 f.

parent. In April of 1634 Balzac wrote to Chapelain the letter which contained the much-quoted sentence in regard to the Academy: "On m'en escrit comme d'une Comète fatale qui nous menace; comme d'une chose terrible, et plus redoutable que la sainte Inquisition."¹⁵ Chapelain in his reply tried to reassure his friend: "Pour la dernière Académie, sans vous la prétendre faire aymer, je vous assure ray qu'elle n'est pas si estrange qu'on vous la fait, et qu'il a suffi que ce fust une nouveauté pour souslever force monde contre elle."¹⁶ Probably no one was deceived by the Cardinal's subterfuge. Early in January, 1635, Balzac wrote to M. d'Epernon: "... encore que la Lettre que vous avez escrite à ma sœur soit dattée de l'armée d'Allemagne, elle est assez eloquente pour venir de l'Académie de M. le Cardinal."¹⁷ But the prime minister had given thereby an evidence of his intentions which reassured the public and inspired confidence in prospective members.

In September, 1634, some two months before the statutes were adopted, Chapelain wrote to Boisrobert: "Peut estre trouverés vous l'Académie plus eschauffée qu'elle n'est et les Académiques en meilleure humeur de bien faire ... la pénultiesme fois, la compagnie ne fut composée que d'un seul."¹⁸ In February, about two months after the statutes had been adopted, he wrote to Balzac:

J'attends ... la harangue que vous me promettés pour l'assemblée [l'Académie], de laquelle je vous diray qu'elle se rend tous les jours et de plus en plus honorable, s'accroissant de jour en jour de personnes de condition, en sorte que les aboyemens du vulgaire cessent et l'applaudissement en demeure général.¹⁹

However, interest in the institution soon waned again: perhaps because the public was becoming engrossed in wars and political affairs and also, no doubt, in part because the Academy was doing nothing to bring itself to the attention of the public. In the postscript of a letter to Balzac in May, 1637, Chapelain wrote:

Pour l'Académie, elle languit à l'ordinaire. Peu de gens s'y rendent aux jours réglés, et l'on n'y fait plus exercice de lettres. Elle en a néanmoins toujours le nom, et le premier promoteur de cette Assemblée ne parle, tous les jours, que de l'homologation de ses privilèges. Après quoy, si nous ne travaillons comme des manœuvres, on nous dégradera et exilera.²⁰

¹⁵ *Œuvres*, I, 728.

¹⁷ *Œuvres*, I, 384.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹⁶ *Lettres*, I, 83.

¹⁸ *Lettres*, I, 78.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

The quarrel of the *Cid* came very opportunely at this juncture to give the Academy something to do which might justify to the public its existence. Scudéry published his *Observations sur le Cid*. Corneille replied with his *Lettre apologitique* in which he asserted that Scudéry had tried to impose upon the ignorant by citing Aristotle and Horace, authorities whom he had never read, or, if he had read them, had never understood. It was an academic question and Scudéry referred it to the Academy.

Chapelain reported the event to Balzac in a letter dated June 13, 1637.

Maintenant ces chaleurs de poètes nous embarrassent, car Scudéry, se tenant fort de la vérité, a retenu pour juge du différent la noble académie dont vous estes un des principaux membres, et ensuite de la requeste qu'il luy a présentée, et que vous trouverez encore icy, vous ne pourrés manquer au premier jour à souscrire l'arrest que le Corps doit prononcer là dessus,²¹ si tost que Corneille nous aura fait la mesme soumission, et ne croyés pas que je me moque: l'affaire est passée en procès ordinaire et moy qui vous parle en ay esté le rapporteur et en dois encore parler à la première séance sur nouveaux renseignements et pièces nouvellement produittes. Dieu vueille que nous en sortions plus à nostre honneur que ceux qui nous ont rendus juges souverains et réguliers par leur déference, et toute nostre prudence ne peut remédier au hazard que nous courrons, estant obligés par de trop puissantes considérations à ne nous pas récuser nous mesmes en cette cause.²²

These *puissantes considérations* are generally assumed to refer to pressure exerted by the Cardinal in inducing the Academy to pass judgment upon this literary quarrel with which all Paris was agog. If one looks upon Richelieu as the statesman which he almost always was, and not as the seventeenth-century Nero which he sometimes appears to have been, one is justified in assuming that he saw here an opportunity to put the Academy before the public as pre-eminently a literary institution. This is strongly suggested by the letter written by Gombauld in August of 1637. In this letter, written to Boisrobert, Gombauld complains of the hardship of having to toil at the *Senti-*

²¹ The Academy seems to have had in the beginning no intention of making its verdict on the *Cid* public. This seems, in fact, to have been the chief point of difference between the Academicians and their patron, Richelieu. On December 24, 1637, Chapelain wrote to M. de Saint-Chartres: "Vous aurés sans doute receu le travail de l'Académie sur le *Cid*, et par là reconnu qu'il n'a rien d'impossible à la vertu de, ... [Richelieu], car cette publication estoit une des plus difficiles choses à nous faire exécuter qu'aucune qu'il ait encore entreprise, mais est factum quodcumque cupit, et il suffit qu'il commande pour estre obéy" (*ibid.*, p. 185, n. 1).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 156.

ments de l'Académie sur le Cid during the excessive heat of mid-summer, and protests "... ce n'est pas le moyen d'attirer les suffrages du peuple que de blâmer ce qu'il approuve."²³ And shortly before Gombauld's letter, Chapelain had written to the Cardinal through Boisrobert. He stressed the need of manifesting an attitude of strict impartiality in the Academy's judgment "because," he said, "of the purpose which we have in this work." Certainly the "purpose" of giving the Academy a definitely literary character was the most legitimate purpose that could be alleged.

Did Richelieu intend that the *Cid* should be condemned as a work of dramatic art? It is very evident that Chapelain, Balzac, and all the contemporaries thought so. Later writers from Boileau on have shared this conviction. It must be accepted as true. No one, so far as I know, has pointed out the strong possibility that Chapelain may have been largely responsible for the Cardinal's attitude.

Chapelain, as we have seen, took very seriously his commission to work upon the plan of the *Comédie des Tuileries*. He labored to the point of exhaustion to transform "by an effort of art" this plan of a *comédie d'apparat* into an *essay de la parfaite comédie*. He had done this, first, to "divertir Monseigneur" and "ensuite pour faire voir aux Italiens, qui pensent seuls posséder les sciences et les arts en leur pureté, et qui nous traitent de barbares, qu'encore y a-t-il quelqu'un en France qui peut ce qu'ils peuvent, et qui sait profiter des inspirations que le grand génie de Monseigneur donne aux François pour exceller en toutes sortes d'arts."²⁴ We find him two or three weeks later writing to Boisrobert: "Vous aurés donc aujourd'huy la copie de ces règles de la comédie."²⁵ According to D'Olivet,²⁶ Richelieu was so impressed by Chapelain's erudition that he gave him "full authority over the poets in his employ." While D'Olivet's statement must be taken with a grain of salt, it is certain that, at this time, Richelieu held Chapelain in very high esteem as an authority on dramatic art.

Now, in the letter to Balzac, cited above, Chapelain states very candidly his reaction to the *Cid* as an example of dramatic art. Incidentally it is essential to note that it is in substantial conformity with

²³ *Lettres de M. de Gombauld* (Paris, 1647), p. 305.

²⁴ *Lettres*, I, 89 f.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 91. The letter is dated février, 1635. It is the only letter bearing a February date except one dated February 25, which follows it.

²⁶ *Histoire de l'Académie française*, II, 130.

the opinions manifested in the *Sentiments de l'Académie française sur le Cid*.

J'apprens aussy avec plaisir que le *Cid* ait fait en vous l'effet qu'en tout nostre monde. La matière, les beaux sentimens que l'Espagnol luy avoit donnés, et les ornemens qu'a adjousté nostre poète françois, ont mérité l'ap-
plaudissement du peuple et de la Cour qui n'estoient point encore accoustumés à telles délicatesses. Il est bien vray, entre nous, que le *Cid* se peut dire heureux d'avoir esté traité par un François et en France, où la finesse de la poésie du théâtre n'est point encore connue. En Italie, il eust passé pour barbare et il n'y a point d'Académie qui ne l'eust banni des confins de sa jurisdiction.²⁷

It is very improbable that Chapelain limited the communication of his judgment of the *Cid* to Balzac. It is very probable that his opinion came directly or indirectly to Richelieu. In that case there was only one position for the Cardinal to take: if, in Italy, the *Cid* would be considered barbarous, and if all the academies of that enlightened land would have banished it from their jurisdiction, the Académie française must do the same.

That may well be the explanation of the panic-filled letter which Chapelain wrote to Boisrobert some six weeks after the letter to Balzac which has just been quoted. Boisrobert has reported the first reactions of the Cardinal to Chapelain's "esbauche de jugement ... faite du *Cid* au nom de l'Académie."²⁸ The "promoter" of the Academy had been led to believe that the *Cid* was faulty as a work of dramatic art and deserved to be condemned. He finds in this "sketch, made in the name of the Academy," that, while the play is severely criticized for infraction of the rules, it is quite warmly praised for its "natural beauties," among which are its noble sentiments and the naïveté and vehemence with which the passions of the principal characters are expressed. Chapelain, with painful humility, implores Boisrobert to explain to his patron the reasons for this apparent inconsistency:

J'ay creu que le moyen de désabuser ceux que ses fausses beautés ont prévenu estoit de tesmoigner qu'en beaucoup de choses non essentielles nous ne le croyons pas repris avec justice, et nous monstrent favorables à quelques uns des sentimens de ceux qui n'y trouvoient riens à redire.

He goes on to beg Boisrobert to read to the Cardinal his conclusions and to point out that, although he has "tellement excusé le *Cid*," he has in the essentials condemned it.

²⁷ *Lettres*, I, 156.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 159 (also for other citations in this paragraph).

Chapelain's apprehensions turned out to be without any real foundation. The Cardinal, having examined this "sketch" more carefully, returned it with the comment that the "substance was good" but that it needed more embellishments. It was, as a matter of fact, finally published in substantially the form in which it first came before the eyes of His Eminence. It is noteworthy, however, that the one express censure of Corneille for his vanity and the one express approval of Scudéry for having presented his case to the Academy were resolutely crossed out and apparently from the beginning, as far as one can judge from the appearance of Chapelain's manuscript. Moreover, the marginal notes in the hand of the Cardinal's secretary and in his own hand all indicate that he was interested in the form but that he studiously avoided any interference with the opinions which were expressed. The same attitude is suggested by the one contribution to the text of the *Sentiments* which Richelieu seems to have been disposed to make. Our information upon this point comes from a letter which Tamizey de Larroque neglected to include in his edition of Chapelain's correspondence. Dated November, 5, 1637, it was written to Boisrobert.

MONSIEUR:

Tout ce qu'il a pleu à Son Eminence de faire escrire sur le sujet du Merveilleux est digne d'Elle en solidité et en clarté, et s'il eust esté en cet endroit question principalement de traiter de cette matière, il eust fallu suyvre de point en point son intention et ses termes. Mais Elle se souviendra, s'il luy plaist, qu'il s'y agit seulement du vraysemblable et qu'il n'y est parlé du Merveilleux que par occasion, de sorte qu'on ne pourroit estendre la doctrine qui le regarde sans s'esloigner l'esprit de son principal objet, auquel l'ordre méthodique veut qu'il demeure attaché. C'est pourquoy avec tout le respect que je luy dois et sans amour pour mes imaginations, je vous diray que mon sentiment seroit qu'on laissast tout ce que j'avois dit du Merveilleux, et je croy que la doctrine du vraysemblable en paraistroit plus nette.²⁹

Chapelain carried his point and apparently without incurring any resentment on the part of his patron. As far as the content and, finally, the form of the *Sentiments de l'Académie française sur le Cid* were concerned, Richelieu's attitude seems to have been all that could have been desired from a man in high authority toward an academic institution which owed its existence to his patronage.

²⁹ Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds français: Nouv. acqui., No. 1885, fol. 220.

If Richelieu believed that the effect upon the public would be the opposite of that which the Academicians feared, the event proved that he had seen farther and more clearly than they. *Les Sentiments de l'Académie française sur le Cid* was received with much respect by contemporary men of letters. Chapelain's prestige as a literary critic was enhanced. The Academy was no longer feared as a part of a political machine but accepted for what it claimed to be—a national institution devoted to the development of the French language and literature.

While Richelieu supplied the dominating force which set a group of amiable men of letters to work at definite projects and made them produce results, Chapelain, his devoted agent, imposed upon this group his ideal of poetic art. In one of his earliest extant letters, written in 1632, he defined poetry as "une dame sévère et glorieuse, d'humeur toute contraire à celles du commun."³⁰ In December of the same year he wrote to Mlle de Gournay:

Homère et Virgile, qui sont des divinités pour moy, ont bien de la peine à estre mes patrons, et vous vous souvenés bien que je vous ay fait remarquer en l'un et l'autre des choses qu'ils pouvoient mieux ordonner. L'idée de l'art est mon seul exemplaire, sur lequel je me règle uniquement, et qui seul me feroit esperer ne marcher pas indignement après ces grandes lumières, si j'avois autant d'ardeur pour cette belle poésie qu'il le faudroit, et que vous le croyés.³¹

Chapelain never abandoned this ideal. He was convinced that the supreme beauty of a poetic work must be sought in its structure rather than in felicities of expression. It was in this respect that his *idée de l'art* differed from that of the common herd. And so, in 1639, Chapelain could with evident sincerity urge Corneille "à se venger et de Scudéry et de sa protectrice (l'Académie) en faisant quelque nouveau *Cid* qui attire encore les suffrages de tout le monde, et qui montre que l'art n'est pas ce qui fait la beauté."³² By the tenacity with which Chapelain clung to this *idée de l'art* and the never lagging industry with which he impressed it upon his colleagues and their "promoter" he deserves to share with his great patron the credit of having founded L'Académie française.

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³⁰ A. M. de Balzac, 25 septembre, 1632 (*Lettres*, I, 4). ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18. ³² *Ibid.*, p. 367.

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE AS PORTRAYED IN CERTAIN FRENCH JOURNALS, 1700-1760

MINNIE M. MILLER

SCHOLARS have studied in detail French interest in English literature. Such investigations have thrown much light on French opinion of the English people, but it is hoped that the study of a number of eighteenth-century French periodicals will add further data and confirm conclusions already expressed.¹ The following journals have been examined: the *Bibliothèque choisie* (Amsterdam, 1703-13), the *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne* (Amsterdam, 1714-27), the *Bibliothèque anglaise* (Amsterdam, 1717-28),² the *Bibliothèque britannique* (The Hague, 1733-47), and the *Bibliothèque impartiale* (Leyden, 1750-58). In addition, use has been made of the collection, *Choix des anciens Mercuries et des autres journaux*, which was published from 1757 to 1764, but which drew its selections from various periodicals of the seventeenth and the first sixty years of the eighteenth century. The *Choix* articles cited are from the following journals: the *Pour et contre* (Paris, 1733-40), the *Nouveaux amusements du cœur et de l'esprit* (place not known, 1737), *La bigarrure* (The Hague, 1749-53), and the *Journal étranger* (Paris, 1754-62); the dates given are those of the original publication of the journals. The articles used in this study thus fall within the years when Anglomania was prominent in France and reflect a French interest in the English people corresponding to that in their literature.

Since articles in eighteenth-century periodicals were not signed, one is seldom able to be certain who was the author of a given remark, though it is clear that the editors themselves usually wrote most of the articles for their journals. While the editors did not always distinguish their own ideas from those of the authors of works which they translated or reviewed, care has been taken to note, whenever possible,

¹ My special thanks are due to Professor E. P. Dargan, of the University of Chicago, who offered valuable suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

² The spelling and accentuation of the eighteenth century are preserved in the quotations but not in the titles of the journals.

whether the editor is giving his own opinion or is quoting from an English or French writer. The editors of the journals are, for the most part, unknown second-rate writers, although the Abbé Prévost of the *Pour et contre* and Jean le Clerc of the *Bibliothèque choisie* and the *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne* were of more importance.

It is well known that, during the period covered by this study, as well as to a somewhat lesser extent before the eighteenth century,³ various French writers had formed certain fairly definite opinions concerning the English people. Love of liberty and seriousness of thought were two traits noted by most observers as peculiarly characteristic of the islanders. The periodicals of the eighteenth century continued to stress these qualities and, at the same time, to contrast the character of the English with that of the French. Thus the editor of the *Bibliothèque anglaise* quotes with apparent approval a comparison of the two peoples which had been first expressed by Saint-Evremond⁴ during the preceding century:

Les Anglois ... pensent trop et les François d'ordinaire ne pensent pas assez ... A la vérité, je n'ai point vû de gens de meilleur entendement, que les François qui considerent les choses avec attention, et les Anglois qui peuvent se détacher de leurs trop grandes méditations, pour revenir à la facilité du discours, et à certaine liberté d'Esprit, qu'il faut posséder toûjours, s'il est possible. Les plus honnêtes gens du monde, ce sont les François qui pensent, et les Anglois qui parlent.⁵

Voltaire observed a somewhat similar difference in the characters of the two nations, for he wrote that the art of pleasing seemed to belong to the French, while that of thinking was an English quality.⁶ The Swiss Muralt, who had traveled in England in 1694 but whose *Lettres* were not published until 1725, commented rather unfavorably on the tendency of the English to claim that they thought more profoundly than other peoples.⁷

A comparison of the characteristics of various nations is found in the *Bibliothèque impartiale*:

³ Cf. Georges Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française* (Paris, 1927 and 1930): Vol. I, *Depuis la guerre de cent ans jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle*; Vol. II, *Le dix-septième siècle*.

⁴ *Œuvres mêlées de M. de Saint-Evremond* (Paris, 1697), II, 262.

⁵ *Bibliothèque anglaise*, XI (1724), 68.

⁶ *Œuvres*, ed. Moland, II, 554.

⁷ B. L. de Muralt, *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François et sur les voyages*, ed. Charles Gould (Paris, 1933), p. 108.

On goûte en France, chacun à sa place, les plaisirs répandus dans les différentes Nations de l'Europe, les agrémens de la table, si connus des *Allemands*, les spectacles de l'*Italie*, les plaisirs de la chasse, qui nous vient du pays du Nord, les délices et la délicatesse des *Lévantins*, la Philosophie même de l'*Angleterre*: tous ces plaisirs couronnés par celui de la Société. Nous avons retranché les excès de la table *Allemande*, corrigé l'usage outré de la Philosophie *Angloise*, évité la Phrénésie *Italienne* pour la musique, et la fureur des *Espagnols* pour les femmes.⁸

In this French book, which was reviewed more than fifty years after the passage by Saint-Evremond was written, there is expressed the same general idea that the English are philosophers and thinkers. In fact, French observers almost universally note these qualities in the English. Still another comparison of the French and the English is given by the editor of the *Bibliothèque impartiale*:

Un François n'est point sujet à ces coutumes bizarres et sauvages dont s'en-têtent ordinairement les Peuples Méridionaux et les Peuples mélancoliques: et possédant ainsi la raison dans toute sa pureté et avec toutes les bienséances, il rachette déjà, par cette compensation, la supériorité que les Anglois prétendent avoir, en se croyant généralement plus raisonnables et plus graves.⁹

The melancholy nature of the English will account for their somewhat strange and uncultivated customs, although the editor does not seem to believe that the greater seriousness of the English entitles them to any special claim to superiority.

Love of liberty is another frequently recognized British trait. Voltaire often regretted that he could not speak with the same liberty in France as in England. Montesquieu also was a profound admirer of English *liberté et égalité*.¹⁰ The editor of the *Bibliothèque anglaise* is in accord with this concept of English liberty, for he notes that Great Britain is a land "si libre, si savante et si curieuse."¹¹ The same editor thinks that the ability of the English in science and philosophy arises largely from the liberty which they enjoy, since the *douceur* of the government makes conditions favorable for learning.¹² This admiration is continued in a rather lyric tone:

Crions à haute voix, heureuse *Angleterre* pour les gens studieux qui cherchent la Verité: Sur tout point d'*Inquisition*, point de Dragons, point de

⁸ *Bibliothèque impartiale*, V (1752), 417.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III (1751), 93.

¹⁰ *Œuvres*, ed. Laboulaye, VII, 185.

¹¹ *Bibliothèque anglaise*, X (1722), 502.

¹² *Ibid.*, XI, 53 (editor's note).

Cachots, point de Potences, si ce n'est pour ranger au devoir les Perturbateurs de la tranquillité civile.

England is a happy land where scholars may pursue the truth unmolested by danger of imprisonment or exile.

The same interest in English liberty is found in the *Bibliothèque britannique*,¹³ whose *avertissement* reads:

L'Angleterre, plus qu'aucun autre Païs, est fertile en Ouvrages remarquables par la nouveauté, la singularité, ou la hardiesse des sentimens; ce qui vient de la Liberté qu'on y a d'examiner tout, et d'en appeller au seul Tribunal de la Raison.

Since their journals were published in Holland, their editors doubtless felt free to express their admiration for English liberty with an enthusiasm which would not have been prudent in France. In fact, the Dutch press, with its frequent praise of liberty in England, came to be of considerable importance during the eighteenth century as a factor undermining the *ancien régime*.

Akin to the liberty of the English was their religious freedom, which the editor of the *Bibliothèque anglaise* lauds highly:

La liberté qu'on y a de dire, d'écrire, et même de prêcher tout ce que l'on veut, tant sur ces matières que sur plusieurs autres qui sont peut-être plus chatouilleuses, cette liberté ... doit être d'un grand secours pour parvenir à la connoissance exacte des choses. La Nation Angloise est en général fort éclairée, et l'Eglise Episcopale en particulier a tous les Avantages temporels qui peuvent animer les Savans, et faciliter le Savoir.¹⁴

Opportunity for unbiased religious investigation is the result of the great freedom allowed by the English church. One is reminded of Voltaire's famous remark that in England a man may go to Heaven by whatever road he may choose.¹⁵

The French also find in the English an excessive pride and a disinclination to recognize even the good qualities of other peoples. Muralt¹⁶ and, before him, Sorbière¹⁷ had noted this indifference to foreigners and foreign ways. Voltaire¹⁸ had often referred to pride as one

¹³ *Bibliothèque britannique*, I (1733), 2.

¹⁴ *Bibliothèque anglaise*, VII (1720), 3.

¹⁵ *Lettres philosophiques*, ed. Lanson, I, 61, Lettre V.

¹⁶ P. 104.

¹⁷ Morize, "Samuel Sorbière et son Voyage en Angleterre (1664)," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XIV (1907), 244.

¹⁸ *Œuvres*, ed. Moland, X, 365, and elsewhere.

of the most notable characteristics of the English. The editor of the *Bibliothèque anglaise* expresses a somewhat similar idea: "Il est assez clair que les Anglois ne se soucient pas trop que les Etrangers se mêlent de leurs affaires."¹⁹ The national pride extends, according to the editor of the same journal,²⁰ to literary and scientific matters, so that a periodical containing reviews of the works of leading European scholars would not prosper in England, where even learned men have a definite scorn for foreign ideas.

The French observed that the English were less talkative than themselves. Muralt pointed with favor to English taciturnity.²¹ This trait was also noted by Saint-Evremond in the passage cited from the *Bibliothèque anglaise* (XI, 68). The editor of the *Bibliothèque britannique* says of the English that "ennemis du verbiage et de déclama-tion, ils vont droit au fait, et s'attachent à traiter leur sujet en peu de mots, d'une manière claire et simple."²² This reticence extends to their writing as well as to their speaking so that, while innumerable pamphlets are issued in England, long books are rarer there than in other countries. However, the editor of the *Bibliothèque impartiale* believes the quality of the pamphlets is not commensurate with their quantity.²³

The English love of liberty extends even to their language. The *Bibliothèque choisie* mentions "la liberté extraordinaire que se donnent les Auteurs Anglois à se servir de nouvelles expressions et de figures hardies et même violentes."²⁴ The *Bibliothèque anglaise* notes this same tendency:

Quand je [the editor] dit qu'en cela il s'est servi des privileges de sa Langue, il n'est presque plus d'Etranger qui ne sâche à présent ce que je veux dire. Personne n'ignore que les Anglois n'ont pas la délicatesse incommode de quelques Nations voisines, qui traitent de barbare tout ce que l'Usage n'a point encore établi dans le Langage ordinaire. Les Ecrivains de la Grande Bretagne, Poètes, Orateurs, Philosophes, ne se font aucun scrupule d'em-prunter de toutes parts des mots qui servent à exprimer les choses lors que leur Langue ne leur en fournit pas qui soient, à leur avis, aussi bons que les autres.²⁵

¹⁹ *Bibliothèque anglaise*, VI (1719), 89. ²⁰ *Ibid.*, X (1722), 502. ²¹ Muralt, p. 143.

²² *Bibliothèque britannique*, I (1733), 4 (avertissement).

²³ *Bibliothèque impartiale*, XIII (1756), 287.

²⁴ *Bibliothèque choisie*, II (1703), 4 (avertissement).

²⁵ *Bibliothèque anglaise*, VII (1720), 226-27.

This indiscriminate use of foreign words and neologisms is the despair of editors and translators. It tends, moreover, to make English lack the delicacy and *goût* of languages which are more selective.

Along with their lack of taste and refinement in language, the French note the English preference for what they consider the burlesque in literature. The editor of the *Bibliothèque impartiale*,²⁶ in reviewing the Abbé Yart's *Idée de la poésie angloise*, states: "On reconnoit par là [i.e., its exaggeration] l'invention dure et bizarre des Angloise ... Il n'est pas surprenant que le Burlesque ait plu aux Anglois: cette Nation, toute sérieuse qu'elle est, aime fort les figures qui sortent du naturel, et les personnages qui grimacent." This emphasis on the unusual and the frequently unrefined recalls the enthusiasm of the English common people for viewing prodigies and monsters—a taste which is satirized in several French periodicals. Although all the accounts examined are translated from the English and are not by French authors, they do show a curiosity on the part of the French reading public concerning English interest in the extraordinary.

Two passages in the *Bibliothèque impartiale* refer to the tendency of the English to portray strong and dominant traits of character. The first passage reads:

Le caractere Anglois, qui demande des couleurs fortes, peut être traité plus aisément que celui des François: et preuve de cela, les Critiques Anglois trouvent communément les caracteres de Molière trop foibles de pinceau, tandis que ces mêmes traits paroissent trop marqués en France, et qu'on y plaint cet admirable Auteur de la condescendance qu'il étoit forcé d'avoir pour le Peuple.²⁷

This contrast of the qualities of Molière as viewed by the two nations seems to indicate that the French considered the English somewhat crude and childlike in their appreciation of literature. The second passage²⁸ expresses a similar point of view toward English novels, especially *Tom Jones*, for the editor thinks that the English consider the unusual rather than the universal in a man's character. He concludes:

Or voilà, si je ne me trompe, ce qui manquent encore aux Auteurs Anglois. Ils ne veulent que des touches fortes et expressives, sans penser au gracieux. Cela fait des Livres singuliers, qui forment un genre à part, si vous voulez.

²⁶ *Bibliothèque impartiale*, II (1750), 64 and 69.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, III (1751), 94-95.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I (1750), 435.

mais qui ne se font pas lire avec le même plaisir qu'on ressent à la lecture de ceux où le goût et le sentiment dominant.

The French editor complacently notes the superiority of his fellow-countrymen in matters of literary taste. One recalls, in this connection, Voltaire's various remarks on Shakespeare and English *goût*. In contrast, however, to the unfavorable comments in the *Bibliothèque impartiale* is the observation made by the editor of the *Bibliothèque anglaise*: "On doit se persuader en France qu'il y a en Angleterre des gens d'un goût aussi fin et aussi délicat qu'il peut y en avoir par tout ailleurs."²⁹ But the *Bibliothèque anglaise* is, it will be noted, generally more favorable to England than is the *Bibliothèque impartiale*.

The French were firmly convinced that the English were more prone to suicide than were the peoples of the Continent. Saint-Amant, who visited England rather early in the seventeenth century, had noted this tendency. The same observation was made by Beeverell in his *Délices de la Grande-Bretagne* (1707) and by Le Sage de la Colombière in the *Remarques sur l'Angleterre* (1715).³⁰ Montesquieu had commented on the connection between the climate and English melancholy;³¹ and Voltaire, soon after he landed in England, learned that everyone was morose and that suicides were frequent whenever the wind was in the east.³²

The periodicals examined reveal this same interest in British suicides. The Abbé Prévost in the *Pour et contre* calls suicide *le remède anglois* and concludes that the French have superior mental and physical resources which keep them from resorting to this remedy. The *Pour et contre* tells of the suicide of Eustace Budgell, cousin of Addison and contributor to the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*.³³ Prévost discusses the motive for such action:

Les Nouvelles publiques, en racontant les circonstances de sa mort, n'en apportent point d'autres raisons, que la crainte qu'il avoit de perdre un procès qui l'auroit dépouillé d'une partie de son bien, et le chagrin qu'il ressentoit depuis quelque tems d'avoir perdu par le feu un grand nombre de bons livres et de papiers précieux [p. 61].

²⁹ *Bibliothèque anglaise*, XIII (1725), 391.

³⁰ Saint-Amant, Beeverell, and Le Sage are cited in Morize, pp. 245-46.

³¹ Cf. Book XIV of the *Esprit des lois*, in *Œuvres*, ed. Laboulaye, IV, 145-73.

³² *Lettres philosophiques*, ed. Lanson, II, 261-62.

³³ *Pour et contre*, XIV (1738), from *Choix*, LXXVI, 61-66.

However trivial may be the reasons here assigned for Budgell's suicide, history tells us that he had been implicated in a questionable action with regard to the will of the deist, Tindal. Furthermore, Budgell was afflicted with attacks of insanity. However, insanity does not seem to be mentioned in any of the periodicals as a cause of suicide and, indeed, was at that time seldom recognized as an outstanding reason.

The French journals contain a number of news items concerning suicide in England, although in no other case except that of Budgell was the victim a person of any importance. Several of these items appeared originally in the *Pour et contre*, and others appear to have been gleaned from various English papers. Both sexes as well as various ages and social conditions are represented. Disappointment in love is the most common motive among women, whereas thwarted ambition and discovery in crime are leading causes for the men. Drowning in the Thames is the method most often described; and, if a weapon is used, the pistol is the most popular. The French evidently relished these accounts of the frailty of their neighbors, while they noted with satisfaction that their fellow-countrymen were too reasonable to succumb to discouragement in this way. Doubtless French journals of the eighteenth century overemphasized this tendency in the English, but their excuse probably lay in the eagerness with which their readers devoured such tales.

Melancholy, often terminating in suicide, seems to have been known as "the English malady." The *Nouveaux amusements du cœur et de l'esprit* quotes a letter from a French lady to a friend. "Que je m'ennuye, Monsieur, que je m'ennuye! sans vous je tomberois infailliblement dans cette maladie, dont les Anglois se délivrent par la mort."³⁴ Furthermore, the editor of the *Bibliothèque impartiale* observes that suicide in England is as common as it once was in Rome, but that in England it is done for reasons much less worthy, since personal disappointment is a more frequent motive than loss of honor.³⁵ Montesquieu had likewise compared suicides among the Romans to those so common among the English, but he was somewhat more tolerant in his judgment of the English than was the *Bibliothèque impartiale*.³⁶

³⁴ *Nouveaux amusements du cœur et de l'esprit*, VI (1737), from Choix, LI, 96.

³⁵ *Bibliothèque impartiale*, XVI (1757), 267.

³⁶ Montesquieu, *Œuvres*, IV, 166.

The French usually admired English ability in business and commerce, although Montesquieu criticized their too great eagerness for the acquisition of wealth.³⁷ Voltaire noted the esteem granted to the British merchants, who were often the younger sons of nobles.³⁸ These merchants considered honor in business of great importance. *La bigarrure* states that bankruptcy is the greatest insult which a merchant can receive since the English are "jaloux de leur honneur, et plus attentifs que nous à la conservation et à la prospérité de leur commerce auquel ils sacrifient tout."³⁹ The same journal refers to the "probité Angloise."⁴⁰ Some French writers, including Voltaire, would encourage the French aristocracy to enter commerce. The Abbé Coyer presents this view in *La noblesse commerçante*, reviewed by the *Bibliothèque impartiale*.⁴¹ He believes that both the individual and the nation as a whole will thus be enriched. The Abbé states his arguments:

Demander si l'on doit permettre à la Noblesse de commercer, c'est demander si l'on doit lui permettre de s'enrichir? ... On allègue l'exemple des Anglois, qui est décisif. En 1545, ils ne faisoient presque point de commerce, et leurs terres n'étoient que foiblement cultivées. Le commerce parut, et la terre reçut une plus grande culture ... L'Angleterre ouvre aujourd'hui ses Magazins à la Hollande, à l'Espagne, au Portugal, à la France même, qui la nourrissoit autrefois [pp. 420-21].

The French also point with envy to the care given by the English gentry to their country estates. Critical Frenchmen were noting that the nobility during the reign of Louis XV might imitate the interest of the English in commerce and agriculture to their advantage.

The French enjoyed reading accounts of society life in England. They found it interesting but did not wish to adopt many of its characteristics in France, for they considered English conversation somewhat serious and dull and altogether too filled with political discussions. The importance of a citizen in English politics made for a wider interest in government in England than in France. Party rivalries are carried so far, says the editor of the *Bibliothèque anglaise*, that the

³⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 191.

³⁸ *Lettres philosophiques*, ed. Lanson, I, 121, Lettre X.

³⁹ *La bigarrure*, III (1749), from *Choix*, LXXVIII, 80-81.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, IV (1750), from *Choix*, LXXV, 83.

⁴¹ *Bibliothèque impartiale*, XIII (1756), 416-29.

first question asked concerning the author of an English book is: "Est-il Whig? Est-il Tory?"⁴² A writer who sees both sides of a political question and who, therefore, is impartial is not likely to be read widely.

Among the customs of English society which aroused the curiosity of the French was that of drinking tea. The editor of the *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne* refers to the English habit of taking tea while reading such papers as the *Spectator*.⁴³ The Abbé Prévost in the *Pour et contre* also enlightens his readers on this question:

C'est un usage établi chez nos voisins de prendre presque continuellement du thé ... avec quelques tranches de pain fort minces, entre lesquelles on étend du beurre frais, à-peu-près de la même épaisseur. Ce goût est généralement répandu. ... Cependant, non-seulement les Médecins, mais tous les amateurs du bien public ne cessent de crier contre les effets pernicioeux du thé.⁴⁴

Prévost ridicules the habit as unhealthy and effeminate and would not wish to see it adopted in his country. Before the Revolution, *thé à l'anglaise* became fashionable in France, but in 1737, when Prévost was writing, it was evidently viewed as an unwelcome foreign custom.

The horse races at Newmarket were one of the curiosities attracting most foreign visitors in England. Muralt had early commented on their popularity.⁴⁵ Voltaire attended the races but did not enjoy them.⁴⁶ In fact, most foreigners did not approve of the sport because they considered it too cruel for the horses. The *Journal étranger* voices a protest:

Il faut avouer que le spectacle d'une course de chevaux, qui est particulier à l'Angleterre, seroit fort agréable et recommandable, s'il n'y entroit pas quelque cruauté, et s'il ne favorisoit pas la fainéantise parmi le peuple. ... On ne peut disconvenir qu'un tableau aussi gai, aussi vivant ne soit digne d'amuser le public et même la noblesse. Faut-il que ce soit aux dépens du plus noble, du plus généreux et du plus beau des animaux, qu'on outre au delà de ses forces?⁴⁷

The author proposes an annual horse show as a substitute for the races, although his suggestion would certainly not meet with favor in

⁴² *Bibliothèque anglaise*, IX (1721), 2 (avertissement).

⁴³ *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*, I (1714), 384. ⁴⁵ Muralt, p. 158.

⁴⁴ *Pour et contre*, XII; from Choix, LXXV, 190.

⁴⁶ *Lettres philosophiques*, II, 265.

⁴⁷ *Journal étranger* (1758); from Choix, LXXIX, 213-14.

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England. Horse-racing apparently did not appeal to the French, but was regarded as cruelty to animals rather than as an interesting sport.

The *Journal étranger* describes the public gardens where all classes of society enjoy themselves:

Ranelagh et Vaux Hall, où va la noblesse, ne sont pas les seuls lieux d'amusement de la saison. Le peuple a les siens: l'artisan peut pour son pot de bière, voir l'inimitable grotte de Perrot; il peut aussi se procurer le spectacle de la chasse du canard pour douze sols à Jenny's Whim. Point de taverne aux environs de la ville, ni de jeu de boule qui ne soient décorés d'allées vertes et de petits bocages, où l'on entend la mélodieuse harmonie d'un aveugle.⁴⁸

There were public gardens to appeal to persons of every rank and fortune. Later, when Anglomania was more influential on customs, the French erected a Vauxhall at the *foire* Saint-Germain in imitation of the English amusement park. The French were evidently interested in various English amusements, but they often satirized rather than praised their neighbor's taste in entertainment.

One might form a composite picture of the Englishman as he was presented in various eighteenth-century French periodicals. Such a portrait would not, it is probable, differ in many respects from the picture shown of the eighteenth-century Englishman in his own periodicals and in works by such observers as Addison, Steele, or Goldsmith. However, the French usually considered certain traits as peculiar to the English, not always because of their frequent occurrence, but because those characteristics interested the French as being somewhat different from their own. These are the traits which are especially evident in the articles in the French journals examined, and, on the whole, are often the same as those noted by Voltaire, Montesquieu, and other travelers to England. The ideas given in the periodicals, however, do not appear to have been greatly influenced by the *Lettres philosophiques*; and some of the most favorable accounts are those in the *Bibliothèque anglaise*, which was published before Voltaire's famous comments on the English. The typical Englishman, as presented in the French journals, was a serious gentleman, successful in business and of unquestioned integrity in financial matters. Intensely fond of liberty for himself, he tolerated others when they differed from him in religion or politics. He was proud and refused to ac-

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, from *Choix*, CHII, 143.

cept foreign dictation, even in questions of literary taste, with results which the French felt were much to be regretted. This pride and love of freedom extended to the language, which thus lacked the polish produced by the French. The Englishman was of a philosophical turn of mind, but to his profundity of thought was joined a tendency to melancholy which led, in extreme cases, to suicide. His conversation often consisted of a discussion of political affairs and party loyalties. He frequently indulged in the seemingly effeminate habit of drinking tea. He was enthusiastic about the horse races and, in his more frivolous moments, visited the public gardens. The French found much to admire, much to wonder at, some things to criticize in the English. They would like to see some of their neighbors' best qualities adopted in France; but, after all, they were probably more willing to admire the English than to imitate them.

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DIADESTÈ, A FRAGMENT OF AN UNPUBLISHED
PLAY BY SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE

EARL LESLIE GRIGGS

AMONG the miscellaneous Coleridge manuscripts presented to the British Museum by the poet's grandson, E. H. Coleridge,¹ is the fragment of a play, *Diadestè*, by S. T. Coleridge. The play, which was to have been in one act, is unfinished; there are various drafts, indicating a series of revisions, but it is impossible in most cases to determine which are the final drafts; and the script is most difficult to decipher. The manuscript is not worth editing in variorum form, and in preparing these fragments for publication I have merely selected what seem to be the revised drafts. E. H. Coleridge apparently collected all the fragments pertaining to the subject, without attempting to classify them chronologically.

Coleridge's dramatic proclivities are well known. As early as 1797 he completed *Osorio* and submitted it to Sheridan for possible presentation. In 1813, mainly through the intercession of Byron, *Remorse*, a revision of *Osorio*, was actually presented at Drury Lane with considerable success. *Zapolya*, a romance avowedly fashioned after *The winter's tale*, was submitted for presentation; after its rejection by the Drury Lane Committee, it was published in 1817. E. H. Coleridge included a fragment of a play, *The triumph of loyalty*, in his edition of Coleridge's poetical works.² *Zapolya* and *Remorse* are full of Shakespearean echoes, and the influence of the earlier tradition is clear, but in *Diadestè* Coleridge apparently strove to bend his genius to the demands of the contemporary theater. The Eastern setting and the romantic extravagance seem definitely due to the influence of the dramatic tradition of the early nineteenth century. In a stage direction to *Diadestè*, Coleridge says: "Arabian Landscape (for which consult Thalaba & the notes to it)"; but except for the setting of Books I

¹ Add. MSS 34225.

² *Complete poetical works* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 1060-73. Ll. 277-358, written in 1800, were published in 1817 as *A night scene: a dramatic fragment*. See *Complete poetical works*, p. 1061 n.

and III of *Thalaba* there are no echoes of Southey's *Thalaba* in Coleridge's play. Coleridge merely endeavors to tell a story, whereas Southey shows considerable didactic purpose. Probably the direct inspiration of *Diadestè* is hidden in Coleridge's wide and miscellaneous reading.

The value of this fragment lies first in what it shows of Coleridge's dramatic tendencies, and second in its occasional poetic lines. Throughout his life Coleridge hoped for dramatic success as a means of emancipating himself from the slavery of hack-writing; but except for *Remorse* his attempts were abortive. Probably Coleridge's failure to win recognition in the theater explains why *The triumph of loyalty* and *Diadestè* were left unfinished; but had he finished the latter we should have merely a further example of his marvelous versatility, rather than a great literary work. Coleridge is unhappy in his attempts at popular or light literature; and his unfinished *Diadestè* shows all too clearly that he could not successfully produce popular melodrama. The fragment cannot be called dramatic, though there is some display of imaginative power.

Diadestè was not included by E. H. Coleridge in the Oxford edition of the *Poetical works*. Probably he omitted it because it is not in verse and because it is so fragmentary. It seems advisable, however, to publish it now, since it affords further proof of Coleridge's dramatic activities.

I am unable definitely to date the fragment. The handwriting resembles that of the years 1812-20; and very probably the piece was written when the success of *Remorse* (1813) suggested dramatic writing as a means of financial independence. Only one reference in Coleridge's correspondence points toward *Diadestè*. In an unpublished letter to Murray (1817) he says: "In looking over my mass of Manuscripts I find the following as connected with the Theatre." Then after listing two plays, he continues: "An entertainment in two acts—the scene in Arabia—First act finished, & the songs for the second." Inasmuch as *Diadestè* is laid in Arabia, probably Coleridge was referring to it, though the manuscript fragment definitely speaks of the play as being in one act.

DIADESTÈ,¹ AN ENTERTAINMENT IN ONE ACT

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

KHEDER

ZELICA, his Wife

ELIZABETH, an English woman, Slave to Zelica,

FAZON ASPHAHANI, the travelling Philosopher.

Scene, Arabia.

KHEDER

Nay, fair Rose of Paradise! Why art thou so full of Thorns?

ELIZABETH

To punish Impertinents, and keep off those, I don't like—but alas! like the poor Rose, my Thorns are but prickles, & shew only my wishes and my weakness.

KHEDER

Good!—The poet, Hafiz could not have said better. By our prophet, some evil Genie transported thee from thy Cradle to that Island, thou talk'st of—and Destiny hath brought thee back to thy own Country—Thou art of the Daughters of Ishmael; yea, born in the tent of one, that shared double in the booty of the Caravan!

ELIZABETH

I have no recollection of any such Highwayman for my Father. Perhaps, he was hung[?] before I was born—

KHEDER (*starting back*)

Hung!

ELIZABETH (*soothing him*)

Nay most amorous Kheder!—No offences!—I meant only, that he might have been raised up on high, & have died upright. For in England, which, excuse me! I have hitherto taken for my Country, all these bold, free-handed, liberal gentlemen, that make no distinction between mine & thine, nay, have rather a predilection for the latter, are pretty sure of being exalted at last—those conscientious Men, that

¹ Here the spelling is as given above. Elsewhere in the manuscript Coleridge occasionally writes the word "Diadesti."

like yourself, valiant Arab! think it a sin to remain too long *coveting* their neighbors goods—or if they miss their reward, it is owing [?] to their great humility in concealing their merits from the eye of those, who are appointed to dispense these public Honors—

Scene

Arabian Landscape (for which consult Thalaba & the notes to it)—Sand Hills in the Distance—Groves of Arabian Trees in the immediate vicinity—A Tent: and at a little distance from it, sitting & working

ZELICA AND ELIZABETH

ZELICA AND ELIZABETH

Song

ZELICA

That just at the moment I should forget the *Diadestè!* You smile, sweet Islander? But our Arabian Proverb, says, that in the Land of Destiny, Dwarfs bring forth Giants: and merry trifles end in mournful Earnest. But, Elizabeth (*hesitating as she pronounces the name*) what does that mean in English?

ELIZABETH

The name of a woman, dear Mistress! but indeed I do not know what it means: it is a word of some old Language, which our learned men only understand. But you have not told me what *Diadestè* means?

ZELICA

The name of a Play or Game, in which there is a wager laid, but indeed I do not well know what it means; for *Diadestè* like your Elizabeth, is a word of some old language, that our Dervishes only understand—But the old Scheik says, that it signifies the same as Take the Bait but leave the Hook!

ELIZABETH

The Bait without the Hook! (*laughing*)—A proverb worthy of our Christian saints, Scrap from St. Anthony, when he preached to a congregation of Fishes. (But what is the Game?)

ZELICA

O it was invented time out of mind—some say, to teach us presence of mind—others, that it was first introduced by Cadija, [Kadijah] the wise wife of our Prophet in order to prevent Husbands from engrossing [?] the whole power to them, [?] by setting up Quickness against Strength. For women are commonly as much quicker than men, as men are stronger than women—But for my own part, I believe, that it was made to pass away the time in our lonely Desarts, & keep our wits from rusting, & above all, to prevent Ill-humour by giving us always something to think about—

ELIZABETH

Well, be it's purposes, one or all of these, what does the Game itself consist in?

ZELICA

Listen,—Within a month after a wedded Couple have become inmates of the same Tent, the Wife specifies some one thing of Value, which the Husband has or is expected to have, & in like manner the Husband the wife's, and this we call the Pledge—and whichever of the two receives any thing from the hand of the other without immediately saying or replying, Diadestè, forfeits this to the other, whose separate property it then becomes; unless in the course of the following moon the winner should be in his turn thrown off his guard, & fall into the same forgetfulness. And during the whole month the winner has absolute power over the Loser, and is indeed the admitted Sovereign of the Tent. Such had been hitherto my good Fortune, and for his last Forfeit my Husband was bound to give me the first female Captive that should fall into his Hand, to be altogether at my disposal. This proved to be you. Ah dear Elizabeth! (*affectionately taking her hand, and looking up anxiously to her*) I cannot tell you, how much I love this faithless Husband of mine—Cruel Kheder! (*both rise from their seats*)

ELIZABETH

And after my yesterday's disclosure, do you still continue Jealous of me, dear Mistress?

ZELICA

Mistress! Twice you have [called me ?] Mistress! O I would remain so only to make you once again your own mistress, with no other Lord & Master, but your own English Henry—Tomorrow, it is reported, the English Warriors will pass thro' our [Tribe?] & close by our Tent—

ELIZABETH

Kind generous Zelica! I have Thanks to repay you with—but Thanks [just ?] uttered here (*pressing Zelica's hand to her Heart*) my Words are but their faint, tho' faithful, echo.

ZELICA

This is the last day of the Moon. If we cannot throw Kheder off his Guard, within a few Hours you will become Kheder's Slave, and he will not fail to remove you to some distant Tent, far out of the sight of your Countrymen—

ELIZABETH

Be of good Hope—Necessity is the Mother of Invention; but Despondency, like the Egyptian Midwives of old, strangles the child in the Birth. Above all, have faith in me. Tho' I were not bound by a tie of my own, I would perish rather than [consent to wrong?] my generous Zelica.

ZELICA

I have no fear now but of my Husband's Heart. In truth, I was (I must own it) right raging jealous of you both, when Kheder first brought you to our Tent: when I saw his restless glances, and how reluctantly he resigned you to me—Ah lovely English Elizabeth! Why were you so beautiful in your Tears?

ELIZABETH

What? Flattery, then, is a Flower that thrives even in the Desarts!

ZELICA

A Flower! O a rank, tho' gaudy, Weed. Friendship treads it under foot—& tis seldom gathered even by Love himself, unless when the little Idler has left his own proper Home, & is playing the truant from his old Tutor, Honesty! Posies of such odour Kheder will offer you—

ELIZABETH

Offer!—he rains them upon me! But the Scent is far too powerful for my cold Northern Senses.

ZELICA

O Elizabeth! Your Mirth becomes you even as your Tears did—Alla preserve you & all faithful wives, from the sick pang of the Heart at the first entrance of a jealous Fear. The look of alienated Affection, seen for the first time. Friend! friend!—it stings at a distance like the Basilisk's Eye!—How could I think of game or wager? I alternately chilled & flush'd, I lost all that presence of mind, to which they say, this Diadestè was meant to habituate us—& received you from his hand without uttering it.—You have both the Hook and the Bait, exclaimed Kheder!—When Time re-appears in the Heaven with his thin sickle of Light yonder—

ELIZABETH (*aside*)

In plain English, by the next new moon.

ZELICA

Diadestè! Diadestè!—I will recover the Bait, and leave you the Hook to digest as you may—

ELIZABETH

Well! well! as I was the unwilling occasion of your loss—I will be your ready & zealous Aspirant in retrieving it—Come: here are two wits against one—& these women's too—

ZELICA

He is now fast asleep.

ELIZABETH

What? if I retire—& you suddenly awake him, as having heard warlike Music, announcing the approach of our English Forces from India—I will come in, as if wild with Joy & confirm it—

ZELICA

Excellent—Do so, do so! Thanks, thanks, dear Elizabeth.

Exit Elizabeth

ZELICA (*alone*)

The Warriors of the Western Isles, Kheder says, are invincible—but if their Sultan would send but half the number of English women, he might conquer the world without a blow—Now, Mahomet [. . .] (*runs towards the Tent, as if out of Breath, crying out*) Kheder! Kheder!—Kheder!—The Warriors.

Scene the first—

ZELICA AND ELIZABETH (*enter in haste*)

Kheder, Kheder (*Kheder comes out of the Tent*)—O my dear Lord and Husband! Have you heard the Music?—

KHEDER (*yawning & stretching*)

I heard your noise—& that, I suppose may be music to your own ears—Had I been blind, instead of asleep, your Larum would have forced my eyes open. O such a dream—Music, I was listening to an Houris in Paradise—Zounds! who are you?

ZELICA

No Houris, but Zelica, your faithful Wife.

KHEDER

Very true! Houris are not our wives & praised be the Prophet! our wives are not to be our Houris! But where is Elizabeth?—Where is your fair English Slave—yours, for to day—but if I have my wits about, mine tomorrow—This is the last day of the Moon, Zelica!—

ZELICA

Cruel Kheder!—if I were to award the same preference, of some Man—what would you say?

KHEDER

Nothing. I'd kill thee, to be sure!—Why, Woman! this English Slave has made an infidel of thee! change bodies with her, if thou can'st—and then I will promise thee, she shall have my free consent to take thy face, & her own principles, back with her to the Island she talks about. By the Pigeon of Mohamet, my Dream was a gifted one! & has revealed to me, that these English women were made so beautiful to make Slaves of these Infidels in the world, & then in the shape of Houris to reward us, Islamites, in the Paradise to come.

Enter Elizabeth, as in haste—

Mistress! Mistress!—*(then as observing Kheder, curtsies reverently)*
Pardon, my Lord!—but I am so rejoiced—They are coming, they are coming!—

KHEDER

Not the English Troops!—they cannot be here ere tomorrow's Sun stands right over the Tent.

(Zelica goes into the Tent)

ELIZABETH

From yonder Hillock you may see the Clouds of Sand blazing in the Sun.

KHEDER

Some Gust of wind in the Desart.

ELIZABETH

And the Trumpets—more likely some troop of Robbers [. . .]

KHEDER

It cannot be. Aram mounted on the fleetest Courser of his Tribe, gained sight of them yestermorning & rode hither at full speed without stop or stay.

Zelica rushes from the Tent, & brings him out his [. . .] Cloak.

KHEDER

Diadestè—Diadestè—I understand the Trick—

Then the Song of Diadestè—alternates with a [chant?] common to both as shrieks from behind the Scenes etc. Elizabeth crying out Save me! Save me! Fainter, Fainter—the Bustle—the Slaves attracted.

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VICTORIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1936

THIS bibliography has been prepared by a committee of the Victorian Literature Group of the Modern Language Association of America: William D. Templeman, chairman, University of Illinois; Charles Frederick Harrold, Michigan State Normal College; Frederic E. Faverty, Northwestern University; Charles W. Thomas, University of Wisconsin. It attempts to list the noteworthy publications of 1936 (including reviews of earlier items) which have a bearing on English literature of the Victorian period. Unless otherwise stated, the date of publication is 1936. Reference to a page in the bibliography for 1935, in *Modern philology*, May, 1936, is made by the following form: See VB 1935, 407. Some cross-references are given, although not all that are possible.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A</i>	= <i>Anglia</i>	<i>JMH</i>	= <i>Journal of modern history</i>
<i>AHR</i>	= <i>American historical review</i>	<i>JP</i>	= <i>Journal of philosophy</i>
<i>AL</i>	= <i>American literature</i>	<i>JPE</i>	= <i>Journal of political economy</i>
<i>AR</i>	= <i>American review</i> (formerly <i>Bookman</i>)	<i>LM</i>	= <i>London mercury</i>
<i>Archiv</i>	= <i>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen</i>	<i>LQHR</i>	= <i>London quarterly and Holborn review</i>
<i>Beiblatt</i>	= <i>Beiblatt zur Anglia</i>	<i>LZD</i>	= <i>Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland</i>
<i>CR</i>	= <i>Contemporary review</i>	<i>MF</i>	= <i>Mercure de France</i>
<i>Cr</i>	= <i>Criterion</i>	<i>MLN</i>	= <i>Modern language notes</i>
<i>CWd</i>	= <i>Catholic world</i>	<i>MLR</i>	= <i>Modern language review</i>
<i>DLtz</i>	= <i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung</i>	<i>MP</i>	= <i>Modern philology</i>
<i>DV</i>	= <i>Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift</i>	<i>N</i>	= <i>Nation</i>
<i>ELH</i>	= <i>Journal of English literary history</i>	<i>NC</i>	= <i>Nineteenth century and after</i>
<i>ER</i>	= <i>English review</i>	<i>NEQ</i>	= <i>New England quarterly</i>
<i>ES</i>	= <i>Englische Studien</i>	<i>NeuP</i>	= <i>Neuphilologische Monatschrift</i>
<i>Est</i>	= <i>English studies</i> (Amsterdam)	<i>New R</i>	= <i>New republic</i>
<i>FR</i>	= <i>Fortnightly review</i>	<i>Nrf</i>	= <i>Nouvelle revue française</i>
<i>HTB</i>	= <i>New York Herald-Tribune books</i>	<i>NS</i>	= <i>New statesman and nation</i>
<i>HV</i>	= <i>Historische Vierteljahrsschrift</i>	<i>NYTBR</i>	= <i>New York Times book review</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	= <i>Journal of English and Germanic philology</i>	<i>N & Q</i>	= <i>Notes & queries</i>
		<i>PMLA</i>	= <i>Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass'n of Am.</i>

PQ	= Philological quarterly	RPh	= Revue de philosophie
QQ	= Queen's quarterly	S	= Spectator
QR	= Quarterly review	Scan	= Scandinavian studies
RA	= Revue anglo-américaine	SeR	= Sewanee review
RdDM	= Revue des deux mondes	SP	= Studies in philology
RES	= Review of English studies	SR	= Saturday review
RF	= Revue de France	SRL	= Saturday review of literature
RH	= Revue historique	TLS	= (London) Times literary supplement
RM	= Revue de métaphysique et de morale	VQR	= Virginia quarterly review
RLC	= Revue de littérature comparée		

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Rev. by William MacDonald in *HTB*, April 12, p. 23.

Knox, E. A. *Reminiscences of an octogenarian: 1847-1934*. See VB 1935, 411.
Rev. by Charles Frederick Harrold in *SeR*, XLIV, 235-37.

Köhler, W. "Zwei grosze Punch-Zeichner" [Leech and Tenniel]. *NeuP*, VII, 407-11.

Lammond, D. *Florence Nightingale*. ("Great lives ser.") London: Duckworth, 1935. Pp. 144.

Langer, W. L. *The diplomacy of imperialism, 1890-1902*. See VB 1935, 411.

Rev. by M. Baumont in *RH*, CLXXVIII, 340-42; by R. J. Sontag in *JMH*, VIII, 228-29.

Laski, Harold J. *The rise of liberalism: the philosophy of a business civilization*. London: Allen & Unwin; New York: Harper. Pp. 287; x+327.

Rev. by M. Ascoli in *New R*, Oct. 7, p. 259; by B. C. in *La Critica*, XXXIV, 458-60; by W. Millis in *HTB*, Aug. 30, p. 5; by Bertrand Russell in *NS*, XI, 805; by David Thomson in *Philosophy*, XI, 371; by A. Wells in *FR*, CXL, 125; *More books*, XI, 400-401; *TLS* (leading article), May 30, pp. 445-46.

Latham, H. G. D. "Rugby in the early eighties." *Colophon*, II, 702-13.

Laver, James. "Vulgar society." *The romantic career of James Tissot: 1836-1902*. London: Constable. Pp. 78.

Rev. in *TLS*, Dec. 19, p. 1047. Valuable background item concerning a painter whose pictures of what Ruskin called "vulgar society," and of the countryside, constitute a unique document on the Victorian Era.—C. F. H.

Lawrence, Margaret. *The school of femininity: a book for and about women as they are interpreted through feminine writers of yesterday and today*. New York: Stokes. Pp. xii+382.

Rev. by Katherine Woods in *NYTBR*, March 1, p. 2; *More books*, XI, 182. Short journalistic articles on English and American women writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including George Eliot and the Brontë sisters.

Leamy, Mrs. Margaret. *Parnell's faithful few*. Pref. by Thomas F. Woodlock. New York: Macmillan. Pp. vii+235.

Rev. by Maurice Joy in *HTB*, July 5, p. 3 (unfavorable). The last years of Parnell's life.

Lee, H. W., and Archbold, E. *Social democracy in Britain: fifty years of the socialist movement*. Ed. with introd. by Herbert Tracey. London: Social Democratic Federation, 1935. Pp. 288.

Ley, Horst. *Die italienische Einigung und die englische Politik: 1859-1861*. Leipzig: Noske, 1935. Pp. 154.

Brief rev. in *La Critica*, XXXIV, 206-7.

Maccoby, Simon. *English radicalism, 1832-52*. See VB 1935, 411.

Rev. by A. F. Fremantle in *History*, XXI, 79-80; by H. J. Laski in *NS*, XI, 21; *CR*, CXLIX, 511 ("immense amount of research and labor").

MacKay, Douglas. *The honourable Company. A history of the Hudson's Bay Company.* Indianapolis, New York: Bobbs Merrill. Pp. xii+396.

McLachlan, Herbert. *Records of a family, 1800-1933: pioneers in education, social service, and liberal religion.* Manchester: Manchester univ. pr., 1935. Pp. xi+240.

Rev. by W. L. Wardle in *LQHR*, CLXI, 129-30. Treats of Beard and Dendy families. Shows the influence of Unitarianism in the social development of England.

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McPharlin, Paul. "The Collier-Cruikshank Punch and Judy." *Colophon*, II, 371-87.

Mathews, David. *Catholicism in England, 1535-1935: a portrait of a minority, its culture and tradition.* London: Longmans. Pp. xii+304.

Includes chapters on "Wiseman and Ullathorne" and "Newman and Manning."

Matthews, Ronald. *English messiahs: six English religious pretenders, 1656-1927.* London: Methuen. Pp. 246.

Rev. by Petrie Townshend in *Life and letters today*, XV, 214-16.

Maugham, Sir Frederick H. *The Tichborne case.* London: Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. 384.

Rev. in *TLS*, Sept. 19, p. 737. A careful, legal analysis of one of the most notorious trials in the Victorian Era, a "microcosm of many phases of English life in the middle years of Queen Victoria."—C. F. H.

Maurois, André. "L'Angleterre en XIX^e siècle (II)." *RF*, XVII (Jan. 15, 1937), 261-87 (to be cont.).

Maurois, André. *Poets and prophets.* London: Cassell, 1935. Pp. 288.

Rev. by Frances Knickerbocker in *SeR*, XLIV, 509-12; by V. S. Pritchett in *FR*, CXXXIX, 493-94; *TLS*, March 14, p. 218.

Mayer, Gustav. *Friedrich Engels: a biography.* Introd. by G. D. H. Cole. New York: Knopf; London: Chapman & Hall. Pp. xii+332.

Rev. by E. H. Carr in *S*, Jan. 10, p. 62; by Max Lerner in *HTB*, May 17, p. 3; *More books*, XI, 292-93. Trans. from the German. See VB 1934, 407.

Mead, George H. *Movements of thought in the nineteenth century.* Ed. Merritt H. Moore. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago pr. Pp. xxxix+518.

Rev. by T. M. Knox in *Philosophy*, XI, 486; by Gertrude Rich in *SRL*, Aug. 8, p. 19; by F. C. S. S. in *The personalist*, XVII, 327-28.

A rich and stimulating account of three or four themes in modern thought: philosophic Romanticism, from Kant through Hegel; utilitarianism; socialism; science and its challenge to philosophy. Valuable as a study in the intellectual

foundations of the nineteenth century. Evolution, however, is given only one chapter, philosophic Romanticism five. But the point of view is determined by Mead's basic creed—a dynamic conception of the present as the living re-creation of all that was real in the past, pragmatically interpreted.—C. F. HARROLD.

Mehring, Franz. *Karl Marx: the story of his life*. Trans. by Edward Fitzgerald. Ed. Ruth and Heinz Norden. Notes by the author, an appendix prepared under the direction of Eduard Fuchs based on researches of the Marx-Engels Institute, a bibliog., and an index. New York: Covici, Friede, 1935. Pp. xxv+608.

Rev. by Sutherland Bates in *HTB*, Jan. 5, p. 6; by A. K. in *Books abroad*, X, 229; by E. M. in *Life and letters today*, XV, 206; *More books*, XI, 94.

Mikusch, D. von. *Cecil Rhodes: der Traum einer Weltherrschaft*. Berlin: Vorhut-Verlag, Otto Schlegel. Pp. 261.

Morris, R. J. *Fifty years a surgeon*. London: Bles, 1935. Pp. 276.

Mottram, R. H. *Portrait of an unknown Victorian*. London: Robert Hale. Pp. 298.

Rev. by W. H. Auden in *NS*, XII, 740; *TLS*, Oct. 24, p. 849. An imaginative biography of the author's father, full of the spirit of the Victorian Era.

Murray, Geoffrey. *The life of Admiral Collingwood*. London: Hutchinson. Pp. 288.

Nikolaevski, Boris, and Maenchen-Helfen, Otto. *Karl Marx: man and fighter*. Trans. by Gwenda David and Eric Mosbacher. London: Methuen; Philadelphia: Lippincott. Pp. ix+391.

Rev. by E. Sutherland Bates in *HTB*, Nov. 15, p. 2.

Palm, F. Charles. *The middle classes then and now*. New York: Macmillan. Pp. xiv+421.

Rev. in *More books*, XI, 450-51. Middle classes in Europe and America from the Middle Ages to the present.

Pankhurst, E. Sylvia. *The life of Emmeline Pankhurst: the suffragette struggle for women's citizenship*. London: Werner Laurie, 1935. Pp. 180.

Pearson, Hesketh. *Labby (the life and character of Henry Labouchere)*. London: Hamish Hamilton. Pp. 318.

Rev. in *SR*, May 2, p. 599.

Penn, John. *For readers only*. London: Chapman & Hall. Pp. 289.

Rev. in *TES*, April 11, p. 311. Ten years at the British Museum; many allusions to Victorians.

Pevsner, N. *Pioneers of the modern movement. From William Morris to Walter Gropius*. London: Faber & Faber. Pp. 224.

Rev. in *TLS*, Dec. 5, p. 1010. A heavily documented, exhaustive account of the arts of industrial and architectural design from about 1850 to the present,

with excellent discussion of Morris' strong and weak features as the father of much that is modern in design.—C. F. H.

Pineau, L. "Histoire de la littérature suédoise. Epoque contemporaine (1870-1914)." *Revue germanique*, XXVI (1935), 217-26, 313-21.

Preller, H. *Englands Weltpolitik als Gleichgewichtspolitik (ca. 1815 bis heute)*. Berlin, Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1935. Pp. 158.

Rev. by E. Anrich in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLIV, 210.

Prestige, L. *The life of Charles Gore*. London: Heinemann, 1935. Pp. xi+547.

Rev. in *CR*, CXLIX, 113-15.

Rabl, Kurt. *Christentum und Volkstum bei W. E. Gladstone. Aufgewiesen an seiner Kritik der britischen Orientpolitik zur Zeit des Berliner Kongresses*. Munich: Beck. Pp. 68.

Rev. by W. Wirthwein in *JMH*, VIII, 523-24.

Reed, W. H. *Elgar as I knew him*. London: Gollancz. Pp. 223.

Rope, Rev. H. E. G. *Pugin*. Ditchling, Sussex: Pepler & Sewell. Pp. 42.

Roth, C. *A short history of the Jewish people, 1600 B.C.-A.D. 1935*. London: Macmillan. Pp. xii+443.

Rühl, Hans. *Disraelis Imperialismus und die Kolonialpolitik seiner Zeit*. See VB 1935, 428.

Rev. by K. Brunner in *Archiv*, CLXIX, 258-59; by H. Wenz in *Beiblatt*, XLVII, 22-25.

Sitwell, Edith. *Victoria of England*. London: Faber & Faber; Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Pp. 390; xiv+349.

Rev. by Geoffrey Grigson in *ER*, LXII, 369 (pp. 506 and 617 have letters by Fulford and Grigson); by Ernest Hudson in *Life and letters today*, XIV, 182-83; by Edith Olivier in *NS*, XI, 232; by R. A. Scott-James in *LM*, XXXIII, 546; by John Sparrow in *S*, Feb. 14 ("not writing history, she is exploring it with her own sensibility"); by Clara Stillman in *HTB*, Aug. 2, p. 3; by Arthur Waugh in *FR*, CXXXIX, 495-96; by P. W. Wilson in *NYTBR*, Aug. 2, p. 4; *TLS*, Feb. 15, p. 133 ("pictorial and romantic").

Smith, Logan P. *Reperusals and re-collections*. London: Constable. Pp. 424.

Rev. by G. M. Young in *S*, Sept. 11, pp. 425-26.

Smyth, Ethel. "A Victorian grand dame." *FR*, CXXXIX, 404-18.

Solmes, Alwyn. *The English policeman, 1871-1935*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1935. Pp. 256.

Rev. in *SR*, Jan. 4, p. 24.

Sponder, J. A. *Great Britain, empire and commonwealth: 1866-1935*. London: Cassell. Pp. 932.

Rev. by Wickham Steed in *FR*, CXL, 619-20.

Stephenson, Gwendolen. *Edward Stuart Talbot, 1844-1934*. London: S.P.C.K.; New York: Macmillan. Pp. xiii+352.

Rev. by R. Fulford in *S*, Aug. 7, pp. 244-45; *TLS*, July 4, p. 559. Story of the Bishop of Rochester and of Southwark. Contains letters from Newman, Gladstone, etc.

Stoakes, J. P. "Not all Victorians were eminent." *SeR*, XLIV, 223-34.

Thibaudet, A. "Balzac." *Revue universelle*, LXVII, 144-59.

Thirlwall, John C. *Connop Thirlwall, historian and theologian*. London: S.P.C.K.; New York: Macmillan. Pp. xiii+271.

Rev. by R. Fulford in *S*, Aug. 7, pp. 244-45; *TLS*, June 20, p. 510. Bishop of St. David's, 1840-74.

Thomas, Ivor. *Gladstone of Hawarden*. London: Murray. Pp. 281.

Rev. in *TLS*, Oct. 10, p. 799.

Thomas, John. "The economic development of the North Staffordshire potteries since 1730, with special reference to the industrial revolution." (Summaries of theses, CXXXIX.) *Bull. of the Inst. of Hist. Research*, XIII, 177-79.

Tickner, Frederick W. *London through the ages*. London, New York: Nelson, 1935. Pp. viii+307.

Tiffen, Herbert J. *A history of the Liverpool Institute schools, 1825-1935*. Liverpool: Liverpool Institute Old Boys' Assoc.

Townshend, Mrs. Emily. *Emily Townshend, 1849-1934: some memories for her friends*. London: privately pr. at Curwen pr. Pp. 105.

Ullmann, Hermann. *Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert. Volk gegen Masse im Kampf um die Gestalt Europas*. Jena: Diederichs. Pp. 265.

Rev. by A. B. in *Archiv*, CLXX, 129-30.

Wearmouth, R. F. "Methodism and the working classes of England, 1800-1850." (Summaries of theses, CXLIV.) *Bull. of the Inst. of Hist. Research*, XIV, 121-22.

Wey, Francis. *A Frenchman among the Victorians*. Trans. V. Pirie. Yale univ. pr. See VB 1935, 415.

Rev. by W. C. DeVane in *YR*, XXVI, 189-91; by Edgar Johnson in *HTB*, June 21, p. 18; *NYTBR*, March 8, p. 8.

Whitehead, Alfred N. "Memories." *Atlantic monthly*, CLVII, 672-79.

Winkler, A. *Die Entstehung des "Kommunistischen Manifestes."* Eine Untersuchung, Kritik und Klärung. Wien: Manz. Pp. 271.

Wolf, Marie-L. *Botschafter Graf Hatzfeld. Seine Tätigkeit in London 1885-1901*. München diss. Pp. 80.

Yeats, W. B. *Dramatis personae: 1896-1902*. New York: Macmillan. Pp. 89.

Rev. by Padraic Colum in *SRL*, May 16, p. 7; by Horace Reynolds in *NYTBR*, May 17, p. 1 (leading article); *TLS*, May 23, p. 434.

Young, G. M. (ed.). *Early Victorian England*. See VB 1935, 415.

Rev. by W. C. DeVane in *MLN*, LI, 556-58; by W. Fischer in *Beiblatt*, XLVII, 25-26.

Young, G. M. *Victorian England: portrait of an age*. Oxford: Oxford univ. pr. Pp. 212.

Rev. by Raymond Mortimer in *NS*, XII, 986; *TLS*, Dec. 12, p. 1025.

A revision and enlargement of Mr. Young's chapter in Vol. II of *Early Victorian England* (see VB 1934, 411, and VB 1935, 415). A brilliant summary of the early and mid-Victorian decades, tracing the Victorian mind from its early evangelical religion and utilitarian economics, through the age of social contentment and philosophic revolt, and through the later movements in aesthetic, social, and imperialist thought. Separate publication of the chapter was occasioned by a widely expressed wish.—C. F. HARROLD.

III. MOVEMENTS OF IDEAS AND LITERARY FORMS; ANTHOLOGIES

Allen, R. B. *Old Icelandic sources in the English novel*. See VB 1935, 416.

Rev. by Richard Beck in *Scan*, XIV, 57-58.

Anon. "An era closes: the eve of Victoria's accession." *TLS* (leading article), Nov. 14, pp. 913-14.

An anniversary article, summing up the literary output of 1836 and the evidences of the coming of a new era.

Baker, E. A. *The history of the English novel*. Vol. VII: *The age of Dickens and Thackeray*. London: Witherby. Pp. 404.

Rev. by Edith Batho in *MLR*, XXXI, 438; by Richard Church in *LM*, XXXIV, 78; *TLS*, April 4, p. 295.

Beach, Joseph W. *The concept of nature in nineteenth-century English poetry*. New York: Macmillan. Pp. xii+618.

Rev. by S. C. Chew in *HTB*, Aug. 2, p. 2; by John Cournois in *NYTBR*, May 24, p. 2; by Irwin Edman in *JP*, XXXIII, 696-97; by E. C. Knowlton in *South Atlantic quar.*, XXXV, 457-59; by R. M. Lovett in *New R*, Aug. 5, p. 385; *TLS*, Dec. 12, p. 1031.

A comprehensive and scholarly study of the Romantic cult of nature in English poetry since the seventeenth century, showing how the concept of nature "grew out of the poets' desire to associate the 'beauteous forms' of the out-of-doors world with the laws and order of the universe, reinforcing the esthetic pleasure . . . with the philosophical notion of order and unity, and vice versa, [and] assuming that the order of the universe is purposive, harmonious and . . . benevolent towards man." The concept "made possible the passage without too great emo-

tional strain from medieval Christian faith to the scientific positivism which tends to dominate cultivated minds today." After examining the roots of the concept in such thinkers as Cudworth, More, Newton, Berkeley, and Shaftesbury, the author deals with the naturalism of Wordsworth and other Romantics and considers also the Platonism and transcendentalism in Shelley, Coleridge, Carlyle, Emerson, and Whitman. Chap. ix presents very suggestively the nature and influence of naturalism in Goethe. Part III (pp. 397-499) deals with the gradual breakup of the concept in Arnold, Tennyson, Browning, Swinburne, and Meredith. In Part IV (pp. 503-59) the Romantic concept of nature is seen disappearing in Hardy and the post-Victorians and vanishing in present-day poetry, which celebrates social union rather than nature as the refuge of "orphaned and defrauded" man. There are fifty-one pages of valuable and helpful notes. The study as a whole gives more stress to the "naturalistic rather than [to] the transcendental aspect of the romantic poets," and excludes any consideration of the social and political aspects of the subject. The most successful part of the book falls in the first two hundred pages, in the author's wide and lucid grasp of the metaphysical concept of nature and of its expression in Wordsworth. Not all readers will agree with all the statements in a work so wide in compass and so full of fact and judgment; but no student of English poetry can fail to benefit by a study of the work. It is not only an investigation of a literary attitude but is also the history of the rise and fall of "one of the bravest efforts of the human spirit."—C. F. HARROLD.

Blacam, Aodh de. *A first book of Irish literature. From the earliest times to the present day.* Dublin and Cork: Talbot pr. Pp. 236.

Rev. by M. F. Liddell in *Zeitschrift für neusprachlichen Unterricht*, XXXV, 78-79.

Boas, F. S. *From Richardson to Pinero: some innovators and idealists.* London: Murray. Pp. 300.

Rev. by Hugh Kingsmill in *FR*, CXL, 755-56; by E. Warrington Smith in *ER*, LXIII, 669. Has essays on Arnold, Mrs. Browning, A. H. Hallam, Tennyson, Thackeray. Uneven, superficial, sentimental.

Bradley, Sculley. "'Hans Breitmann' in England and America." *Colophon*, II, 65-81.

Charles Godfrey Leland, author of *Breitmann ballads*, and his reception in Victorian England.

Brown, Ford K. "Fathers of the Victorians [evangelicals]." *VQR*, XII, 416-29.

Buck, Philo M. *The world's great age: the story of a century's search for a philosophy of life.* New York: Macmillan. Pp. xv+382.

Rev. by "H. M. J." in *SRL*, May 2, p. 18 ("partial . . . clumsy"); by Peter M. Jack in *NYTBR*, April 26, p. 2 ("an admirable work"); *TLS* (leading article), June 6, pp. 465-66. The literary and philosophical achievements of the nineteenth century, from Rousseau to Hardy.

Cazamian, Louis. *Le Roman social en Angleterre (1830-1850): Dickens, Disraeli, Mrs. Gaskell, Kingsley*. New ed. Paris: Didier, 1935. 2 vols.

Brief rev. by G. d'Hangest in *Les Langues modernes*, XXXIV, 183-84. First ed. appeared in 1903.

Cazamian, Madeleine L. *Le Roman et les idées en Angleterre*. Tome II: *L'Anti-intellectualisme et l'esthetisme 1880-1900*. Paris: Belles Lettres.

Brief rev. in *Les Langues modernes*, XXXIV, 634-35. (Swinburne, Vernon Lee, L. Hearn, Morris, Pater, Wilde, Yeats, Moore.)

Černý, V. *Essai sur le titanisme dans la poésie romantique occidentale entre 1815 et 1850*. Prague: Editions Orbis, 1935. Pp. 440.

Rev. by H. Burger in *DLtz*, LVII, 1187-90. Includes Tennyson and Browning.

Chesterton, G. K. "Some literary celebrities." *SRL*, Sept. 12, pp. 3-4, 13.

Cross, S. H. "Pouchkine en Angleterre." *RLC*, XVII (1937), 163-81. See III, Simmons.

Cruse, Amy. *The Victorians and their reading*. See VB 1935, 417.

Rev. by E. F. Benson, "Archæology in literature," *Am. Mercury*, XXXVIII, 119-22; by D. M. Stuart in *English*, I, 165-66; by C. F. Harrold in *JEGP*, XXXV, 449-50.

Daiches, D. *New literary values: studies in modern literature*. Edinburgh, London: Oliver & Boyd. Pp. 148.

Rev. in *TLS*, Oct. 10, p. 809. Chapter on Hopkins and present-day poets.

Gassmann, W. *Der Viktorianismus bei Hugh Walpole*. Marburg diss., 1933. Pp. 59.

Giraud, V. "Le Cas de Gustave." *RdDM*, XXXIV, 217-29.

Rev. of R. Dumesnil's *Gustave Flaubert: l'homme et l'œuvre*.

Gottbrath, K. *Der Einfluss von Goethes "Wilhelm Meister" auf die engl. Literatur*. See VB 1935, 418.

A brief survey of Goethe's influence, through *Wilhelm Meister*, on Carlyle, Bulwer, Disraeli, Eliot, Meredith, Wilde, and on English criticism. Omits any really adequate treatment of *Meister* and the English Romantics, or of Sterling, Lewes, Froude, Kingsley, Geraldine Jewsbury, Mrs. Ward, and Samuel Butler. Does not supersede Susanne Howe's *Wilhelm Meister and his English kinsmen* (1930).—C. F. HARROLD.

Grauniss, Ruth. "Series of books about books." *Colophon*, N.S., I, 549-64.

The popularization of bibliography in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

Gwynn, Stephen. *Irish literature and drama*. London: Nelson. Pp. ix+246.

Rev. in *Poetry rev.*, July-Aug., pp. 320-22.

Hathaway, Lillie V. *German literature of the mid-nineteenth century in England and America as reflected in the journals, 1840-1914*. Boston: Chapman & Grimes, 1935. Pp. 341.

Rev. by C. C. D. Vail in *Mod. lang. jour.*, XXI (Jan., 1937), 296-97.

Hillhouse, J. T. *The Waverley novels and their critics*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minn. pr. Pp. xi+357.

Has chapters "Victorian critical prejudices" and "The three chief estimates: Carlyle, Bagehot, Leslie Stephen."

Holder, Alfred. *Beiträge zur Ästhetik des Romans der ausgehenden viktorianischen und nachviktorianischen Periode*. Tübingen diss., 1935. Pp. 131.

Hübner, Walter. "Der politische Prosatext im englischen Unterricht." *NeuP*, VII, 449-68.

Jourda, P. "L'Exotisme dans la littérature française depuis le Romantisme." *Revue des cours et conférences*, XXXVII, 28-44; 111-26 ("L'Angleterre"); 232-44 ("L'Angleterre").

Kieseritzky, Helene v. *Englische Tierdichtung. Eine Untersuchung über Rudyard Kipling, Charles G. D. Roberts und Ernest Thompson Seton*. Berlin diss. Jena: G. Neuenhahn, 1935. Pp. 75.

Lalou, R. *Histoire de la littérature française contemporaine (1870 à nos jours)*. Paris: Presses Universitaires. Pp. 798.

Landré, Louis. *Leigh Hunt: 1784-1859. Contribution à l'histoire du Romantisme anglais*. Paris: Belles Lettres. 2 vols.

Rev. in *TLS*, May 9, p. 394.

Lavrin, J. *Aspects of modernism, from Wilde to Pirandello*. London: Stanley Nott. Pp. 247.

Lebbin, Elisabeth. *Alfred de Vignys Beziehungen zu England und zur englischen Literatur*. Halle diss. Pp. 115.

Linge, T. *La Conception de l'amour dans le drame de Dumas fils et d'Ibsen*. Paris: Champion, 1935. Pp. 230.

Lucas, F. L. *The decline and fall of the Romantic ideal*. Cambridge univ. pr.; New York: Macmillan. Pp. 280.

Rev. by Leonard Bacon in *SRL*, Dec. 19, p. 7; by Percy Hutchinson in *NYTBR*, Jan. 10, 1937, p. 2.

An illuminating and frequently witty defense of the Romantic point of view in literature and in life, as against some modern critics; based largely on present-day theories of the unconscious and defining Romanticism as the expression of the instinctive ego (the "id") as it weaves its dream-world in which the social taboos (the "super-ego") and the sense of fact (the "reality-principle") may be successfully flouted. Classicism, Romanticism, and realism are all discussed in relation to their relative releasing of the "preconscious and instinctive side of personality"

(pp. 31 ff.). The book is not, however, heavily laden with Freudian terms and theories but is a provocative examination of a literary ideal and method, made brilliant with quotations from foreign literatures, ancient and modern, and guided by a sane sense of values. The most successful chapters are chaps. i-iii (the Ballard Mathews Lectures for 1935); chap. iv is a most vigorous attempt to deflate Coleridge's reputation as a critic (one of the most formidable attacks on any Romantic critic); chap. v attempts to answer the modern subjective and anarchic critics by an appeal to imagination and human dignity. The book ends, rather lamely, by reprinting, as chap. vi, a paper from the *Cornhill magazine*, on the author's visit to Iceland and on that country's Romantic tradition. Many references to Victorian Romantics.—C. F. HARROLD.

Major, John C. *The role of personal memoirs in English biography and novel*. Diss. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pa., 1935. Pp. 176.

Martin, Helen. "Nationalism in children's literature." *Library quar.*, VI, 405-18.

Mauk, M. *Der Kampf um die Neger-Emanzipation in der engl.-amerikan. Literatur*. Freiburg diss., 1935. Pp. 77.

May, J. Lewis. *John Lane and the nineties*. London: Lane. Pp. xxii+272. Index, pp. 265-72.

Rev. by A. Waugh in *S*, Sept. 25, pp. 506-8; *TLS*, Sept. 26, p. 762.

Less concerned with Lane than with the nineties; gracefully written; an acute analysis of the period of Wilde, Francis Thompson, *The yellow book*, Beardsley, Dowson, etc. Except for the material on Lane, not an original contribution.—C. F. HARROLD.

Meiszner, Paul. "Der Gedanke der dichterischen Sendung in der englischen Literaturkritik." *DV*, XIV, 31-59.

Rapid survey on the meaning and place of poetry through the centuries.

Metz, R. *Die philosophischen Strömungen der Gegenwart in Grossbritannien*. See VB 1935, 418.

Rev. by E. Duprat in *RPh*, XXXVI, 560-61; by P. Meiszner in *Beiblatt*, XLVII, 26-32.

Neuschäffer, W. *Dostojewskijs Einfluss auf den englischen Roman*. ("Anglistische Forsch.," Band LXXXI.) Heidelberg: Winter, 1935. Pp. 110.

Influence on Gissing, Conrad, and others.

Oxford Movement. (See also II, Mathews; IV, Arnold: Middleton.) Dark, Sidney. *Manning*. ("Great lives ser.") London: Duckworth. Pp. 141.

Rev. in *TLS*, July 11, p. 581 ("unprejudiced and sympathetic").

Paxeco, Fran. "The literary relations between Portugal and Great Britain." *Mod. languages*, XVIII, 56-63.

Pre-Raphaelite Movement. See II, Gissing; III, Cazamian, M.

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Shaw's preface adds little to our knowledge of Morris. The volumes give an admirable picture of the socialist movement of the day and an excellent account of Morris' social doctrines; are less successful on Morris' aesthetic theories, except as they relate to social and economic problems. A valuable and permanent contribution.—C. F. HARROLD.

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- Vincent, Eric R. *Gabriele Rossetti in England*. Oxford: Clarendon pr.; New York: Oxford univ. pr. Pp. xii+199. Notes, appendixes, bibliog., and index.
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Kernahan, Coulson. "A poet's moods: Swinburne asks, 'Can you explain it?'" *LQHR*, CLXI, 186-92.

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Urmitzer, Klara. *Rupert Brooke*. Bonn diss. Würzburg: R. Mayr, 1935. Pp. 48.

Chap. ii treats of the influence of Swinburne and the "decadent" literature of the nineties.

Tennyson (see also I, Ehrsam). Carlson, C. Lennart. "A French review of Tennyson's 1830 and 1832 volumes." *ELH*, III, 218-20.

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Howell, A. C. "Tennyson's 'Palace of art'—an interpretation." *SP*, XXXIII, 507-22.

A well-argued paper on Tennyson's poem as reflecting his experiences at Cambridge (the "palace" of the poem).

Jensen, H. "Tennysons Ulysses." *Engl. Kultur in sprachwiss. Deutung* (Leipzig), pp. 130-43. Listed in *LZD*, LXXXVII, 1079.

Tennyson, Charles. "Tennyson papers: I. Alfred's father, II. J. M. Heath's 'Commonplace book,' III. 'Idylls of the King,' IV. The making of 'The Princess.'" *Cornhill mag.*, CLIII, 283-305, 426-50, 534-58, 672-81.

This series of articles is interesting for its light on Tennyson and his methods and the background. I presents a portrait of Dr. Tennyson drawn from his papers and notebooks. II gives new light on the "Apostles"; prints some unpublished work of Hallam and of the Tennyson brothers Frederick, Charles, Edward, Septimus, and Alfred. III has "some notes on the early MSS. of the *Idylls*." IV treats of Tennyson's method of composition as shown in the extant MSS of *The princess*.—FREDERIC E. FAVERTY.

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"... the last representative of what may be called the classical tradition in modern English poetry."
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Rev. by May Lamberton Becker in *HTB*, May 24, pp. 1-2; by C. K. Hyder in *SRL*, May 23, p. 6; by C. G. Poore in *NYTBR*, May 24, p. 1.
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- Wellek, René. "Dílo Oscara Wildea." *Listy pro umění a kritiku*, III.
- Wood. Sadleir, Michael. "Bindings of Mrs. Henry Wood's novels." *TLS*, Feb. 8, p. 120.
Bibliographical data on *East Lynne* and other novels of Mrs. Wood.

BOOK REVIEWS

Census of mediaeval and Renaissance manuscripts in the United States and Canada, Vol. I. By SEYMOUR DE RICCI, with the assistance of W. J. WILSON. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1935. Pp. xxiii+1098.

The present work was proposed by the American Council of Learned Societies, was supported by a grant from the General Education Board, and was administered by the Library of Congress. The editor, Seymour de Ricci, has a wide acquaintance with manuscripts, especially with those of the later period; he had long before shown his interest in American collections by the publication of "A hand-list of Latin classical manuscripts in America," in the *Philological quarterly*, I (1922), 100-108.

The term "manuscripts" in this volume includes, along with codices, letters, charters, deeds, autographs, and, in some cases, illuminated initials. Many of the items consist of a single folio of a volume. A few stray papyrus fragments have been listed, but it was considered impracticable to attempt to catalogue the various papyrus collections in this country. The time limit has been set at 1600, though a large number of seventeenth-century documents is included and a small number belonging to the eighteenth century.

The libraries are arranged according to states, in alphabetical order. The first volume, which includes Alabama to Massachusetts, contains some notable collections; e.g., the Huntington Library (pp. 35-146), the Library of Congress (pp. 179-266), the Folger Shakespeare Library (pp. 267-450), the Ricketts Library (pp. 617-63), the Walters Art Gallery (pp. 757-856), and the Robert Garrett Library (pp. 865-99); the only university libraries which contain a considerable number of manuscripts are Harvard (pp. 964-1020) and Chicago (pp. 552-600).

The number of items listed, large though it seems (nearly 6,000), falls far short of the reality; e.g., for the Huntington Library no account is taken of the 50,000 documents found in the archives of the Earls of Huntingdon, of the Battle Abbey manuscripts (2,800 items), or of the Stowe collection (784 deeds), and only 109 of the 15,000 items among the Bridgewater manuscripts are described. Similarly, of the 10,000 documents in the Library of Congress concerning the Mercy-Argenteau and the D'Avaray families only 400 are cited; the Bacon collection in the library of the University of Chicago (several thousand documents) is not catalogued, nor is the Canagua collection in the library of the University of Illinois (several thousand items).

The oldest manuscripts are Greek papyrus fragments (p. 761, saec. I, II; p. 674, saec. II; p. 747, saec. V). The most important collection of Greek manuscripts is found in the Freer Gallery of Art at Washington (pp. 464-69);

they date from the fourth to the twelfth century—all theological and all written on vellum, except thirty-four folios of a papyrus codex of the Minor Prophets, which is "one of the earliest extensive fragments of a Bible manuscript." More than seventy additional Greek manuscripts are listed, which, with one or two exceptions, contain theological texts (mostly gospels and lectionaries); four-fifths of them belong to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

The early Latin manuscripts are neither numerous nor important. Of the nine ninth-century manuscripts all are theological, except two folios of Vergil's *Aeneid* (p. 886), two fragments of a Ravenna papyrus (p. 895), and two folios of a constitutional treatise (p. 660), apparently on the kingdom of the Franks. The tenth-century codices, twenty-three in number, are theological, except two folios of the *Aeneid* (p. 704) and six folios of Bede's tract *De re metrica* (p. 1085). Of the twenty-eight items belonging to the eleventh century (one-half of them fragmentary), all are theological except two. Half of the 120 twelfth-century manuscripts are fragmentary; all but a dozen are theological. The classical texts are not important; e.g., Priscian (pp. 130, 960, 981), the Alexander-Dindimus and Alexander-Aristotle letters (pp. 72, 839), Juvenal (p. 833), Macrobius (p. 840), Palladius (p. 72), Solinus (p. 839). The remaining non-theological texts are medical, philosophical, and legal. There are about 225 manuscripts belonging to the thirteenth century—four-fifths are theological; the rest are philosophical, legal, astronomical, logical, medical, mathematical, and classical. The classics are represented by Lucan (p. 81); Symmachus (p. 598); Sallust, *Catiline* and *Jugurtha* (p. 704); Cicero, *De amicitia*, two folios (p. 720); Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (p. 832); Vergil, *Aeneid* (p. 886); Seneca (p. 887); Solinus (p. 887). Medieval literature is represented by such texts as the *Alexandreis* of Gualterius de Insulis (pp. 888, 922), the *Poetria novella* of Gaufridus de Vinesauf (p. 889), and the *Aurora* of Petrus de Riga (p. 920).

The largest number of codices belongs to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Here the Latin classics are well represented. Cicero, naturally, heads the list, with over twenty items. Most of the works are philosophical, *De officiis* being the most popular (eleven copies); the orations are found in only a single manuscript. Vergil is represented by eighteen manuscripts, Ovid and Juvenal by sixteen each (Juvenal is combined with Persius nine times; Persius occurs alone three times). Next in popularity are Horace, Sallust, Lucan, and Valerius Maximus, with some half-dozen manuscripts each. Other authors listed are Apuleius (p. 699), Caesar (pp. 512, 837), Claudian (pp. 701, 831), Columella (p. 840), Quintus Curtius (pp. 443, 837), Paulus Festus (pp. 667, 840), Gellius (p. 840), Livy, first decade (pp. 161, 887), Manilius (p. 921), Martial (pp. 834, 921), Mela (p. 839), Nepos (p. 980), Plautus (pp. 490, 830, 981), Seneca (pp. 561, 704, 712, 982), Sextus Rufus (p. 838), Statius (pp. 596, 677), Suetonius (pp. 190, 445, 652, 837), Terence (pp. 190, 981), Tibullus (pp. 442, 981), Vegetius (p. 921), Ps. Aurelius Victor (pp. 652, 838 [twice]), at-

tributed to Pliny in the manuscripts. Especially important to the student of art is the surprisingly large number of Books of Hours (about 400), most of which belong to this period.

The editors are to be congratulated on the thoroughness with which they have done their work. Occasional incomplete or inaccurate descriptions may be pardoned in view of the difficulties involved in a first attempt. The *Census* is admittedly not a final catalogue. Especially commendable is the effort to trace the previous histories of the manuscripts. The American private collections are still in a state of flux, and it is important to follow the manuscripts until they find a permanent home in some public library.

A few errors and omissions may be noted. The date has been omitted several times; e.g., page 243, No. 158; page 246, No. 71; page 248, No. 183; page 722, No. 1. The correction "read Alcuini" for "Albini" (p. 577, No. 1) is uncalled for; Albinus is the regular Latin form of Alcuin's name. The attribution of the *Historia Troiana* to Aegidius Columna (pp. 11, 213, 590 [twice], 841, 979) is incorrect. The author is Guido de Columnis.

The second volume, which is now in press, will cover the libraries of the remaining states. It will include a list of "unlocated MSS" and a description of manuscripts belonging to American bookdealers, most of which will in the course of time come into the possession of libraries already listed in the *Census*. The index for both parts will be issued as a separate volume.

CHARLES H. BEESON

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Das europäische Theater im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance. By HANS HEINRICH BORCHERDT. Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1935. Pp. 206.

In recent years quite a number of publications have been devoted to various aspects of the drama of the period covered in this book, but there has been a lack of comprehensive works which would give a view of the whole field. The present volume does not aim to present a detailed history of the theater of the period, but records the history of art and culture of the time as it is reflected in the development of the theater. It does not, therefore, displace the more detailed historical works of Creizenach, Herrmann, and Kaulfuss-Diesch, but forms a valuable supplement to these indispensable volumes.

In his brief and typically concise introduction Professor Borchardt sketches the cultural background and the national stylistic peculiarities of medieval art, and throughout the work he makes constant reference to the parallelism between the development of the theater and the development of the other arts. The beginnings of the modern drama in the liturgy of the church; the development of the great passion plays, the mysteries, and the processional dramas of Germany, France, England, and Italy in the late Middle Ages; the revival of the classical drama in Northern Europe; the theater of the Italian

Renaissance; the Renaissance drama in the Netherlands; and the sixteenth-century theater in Germany are adequately described. Particularly notable are the clear and scholarly treatment of the Renaissance theater in Italy, the trenchant characterization of the Renaissance in the Netherlands, and the description of the various types of the drama and of the theater in Germany in the sixteenth century. The text is accompanied by one hundred and nineteen illustrations, most of which are familiar.

Professor Borchardt's observations and conclusions with respect to the staging of individual plays are generally trenchant and illuminating. Occasionally, however, his conjectures are open to argument. A case in point is his discussion of the stage of Vigil Raber's passion play of Bozen. In the first place, it is unfortunate that Borchardt chose to reproduce the inaccurate stage plan which was first printed by Pichler and which has now become traditional, instead of printing an exact reproduction of Raber's original plan,¹ which differs from Pichler's version in the proportion and size of various stations, in the gratuitous addition of a horizontal line cutting off the upper portion of the *templum* and of the two diagonal lines connecting the outer and the inner arch of the *porta magna*, and in the position of the word *obendrauf*. In the original sketch there can be no doubt but that the word *obendrauf* refers to the word *pinaculum*, which stands below it, but in Pichler's sketch the reference of the word is ambiguous, so that it is possible for Borchardt to assume that the word refers to the station above it marked *angeli cum silete*. Thus he infers that the place of the angels was raised above the general stage level and ventures the surmise that the *angeli cum silete* were situated in the rood loft, which, to be sure, would have to be specially constructed for the performance, since the church at Bozen does not have such a loft. In support of his conjecture that a makeshift rood loft was erected for the performance, Borchardt cites the unusually large expenditures for the construction of the stage listed by Wackernell. The whole ingenious reconstruction seems questionable for several reasons: (1) it rests largely upon a misinterpretation of the reference of the word *obendrauf*; (2) the *angeli cum silete* are not represented in the play as heaven-dwelling beings but merely as a sort of chorus which, with the chanting of the *silete* refrain, are to keep the audience quiet in the interval between "acts," so that there is no valid ground for the assumption that their station was elevated above the general stage level; (3) the large expenditures for the construction of the stage may have been due to the fact that the whole stage was in the nature of a platform, which would seem to be indicated by the concentrated arrangement of the stage.

The usefulness of the volume is diminished by the lack of an index, a systematic bibliography, and a list of illustrations.

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¹ For a copy of Raber's sketch I am indebted to Dr. Reinhold Nordsieck of the Ohio State University.

Les Dames des Roches: Etude sur la vie littéraire à Poitiers dans la deuxième moitié du XVI^e siècle. By GEORGE E. DILLER. Paris: E. Droz, 1936. Pp. viii+207.

Dr. Diller presents a well-documented account of the life and extant works of those two ladies of Poitiers whose group of literary and political associates anticipated the salons of the following century exactly as the prose style of the Dames des Roches anticipated that of the *précieuses*. The author's biography of mother and daughter brings together many scattered references made to them by the literati of the day, and illuminates the background of their existence by means of apposite and interesting legal documents. Appendixes and index enhance the value of the work to the student.

The author shows a wise caution in evaluating the literary work of the two, each of whom (the daughter Catherine the more notably) wrote in the diffuse Italianate style which was then growing in favor as the Pléiade's influence subsided before that of Desportes. The Dames des Roches do indeed reflect the classicizing influence which the Pléiade had represented, but their classical allusions are for the most part purely formal and bereft of color. Enthusiasm for the heritage of Greece and Rome is foreign to them, as so widely in a generation which, no longer having the joy of discovery, was content to take its phraseology at two or three removes from the original. This tendency is particularly noticeable in the case of the Platonistic conceits which appear in the ladies' works, and, as Dr. Diller judiciously points out, makes it unwise to attempt identification of immediate sources. Translations and commentaries were by now so widespread that the Dames des Roches could hardly avoid the use of vague semi-rhetorical phrases whose origins were of present concern only to the professed scholar. Dr. Diller stresses, incidentally, the seriousness of the mother's Platonism in contrast to the formalism of the daughter's.

Despite the caution with which Dr. Diller regards the attempt to identify sources of Platonistic references, he offers in his first appendix a list of allusions made by the Dames to works by foreign or classical authors, with corresponding notes of probable sources. The value of such a list is naturally proportional to its completeness; and it unfortunately seems probable that a far richer harvest could have been gleaned in this field than the list shows. The following instances are in point (and one need draw only from quotations made by the author in the body of the work): The reference (p. 80) to Castiglione's *Cortegiano* is linked to an equally clear but unnoted one to Machiavelli's *Principe*. "La déité reverée par les Sicioniens" (p. 115) is presumably Hygieia, whose connection with Asclepius in the worship of Sicyonia is recorded by Pausanias in his second book. "La Déesse Angerone" in the same passage is the somewhat ambiguous goddess described by Macrobius *Sat. i.* 10. 7; Cicero *De fin.* i. 11, ii. 4, and other ancient writers listed in Daremberg-

Saglio. Hippomenes and Atlas (p. 111) in their connection with golden apples are mentioned respectively in Ovid *Met.* x. 560 and iv. 635.

Dr. Diller is to be thanked for having treated at due length a subject which P. Rambaud and A. H. Schutz had brought into the penumbra of inquiry, and for having made a solid contribution to our knowledge of minor centers of culture in sixteenth-century France.

ROBERT VALENTINE MERRILL

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The text of Shakespeare's "Lear." By B. A. P. VAN DAM. ("Materials for the study of the Old English drama," N.S., Vol. X.) Louvain, 1935. Pp. 110.

Scholars have found in the textual problem of *King Lear* an unhappy dilemma: the First Quarto appears to be too good to be a bad quarto, but at the same time too bad to be a good one. Dr. van Dam's theory, however, although it makes the First Quarto (and the Folio as well) both good and bad, hardly seems to me to offer a genuine solution. His textual theory may be summarized as follows: (1) Shakespeare's manuscript, larded by the prompter with interpolations (exclamations, vocatives, connective insertions, "elucidatory" phrases) and marked by him for cuts in playing, served as the promptbook; having been lent temporarily to Butter, it was printed in 1608 (Q_1); in addition to making the normal printers' errors, the compositors wantonly changed the lineation of verse and misprinted verse as prose, and they set up many, but not all, of the passages marked for omission in the theater. (2) This quarto, with deliberate emendations and line shiftings, as well as accidental changes, was reprinted in 1619 (Q_2). (3) Shakespeare's original manuscript, having undergone further alterations—chiefly in more interpolations—in the course of its use as a promptbook, and having been edited by Heminge and Condell, presumably with the removal of many of the earlier interpolations (appearing in print in Q_1), was turned over to the printers of the First Folio; they omitted a different set of marked playhouse cuts from those chosen by the printers of Q_1 , and they did not alter the lineation except in a few instances; in part, they reprinted from a quarto. Which quarto and just what use (whether as copy to which manuscript variants had been transferred, or merely as an occasional source of reference) was made of it are not clearly stated. The essential weakness in the hypothesis is in its making a single manuscript bear the weight of the enormous differences between the two fundamental texts, Q_1 and F. To account for the difference in passages chosen for omission, for a largely different set of what Dr. van Dam identifies as interpolations, and for a wide difference from beginning to end in the lineation of verse and prose, the chief burden is put on the printers of the two texts, secondarily on a prompter-adapter at the Globe.

The printers.—The marking of cuts in the promptbook, as Dr. van Dam suggests, merely by a line down the margin would explain the availability of

these passages to both printers but not the difference in the choice they made of what not to omit. Actually deleted passages would be missing in both texts—a fact Dr. van Dam does not mention; on his hypothesis of a single manuscript promptbook behind both texts, we must face the possibility of the loss of a quite unknown quantity of Shakespeare's own lines. The attribution solely to the printer of the distortion of metrical arrangement in Q_1 , on this theory assumed to be straightforward in the copy, restores him and his kind to the ancient villainy from which modern bibliographers have been trying to rescue them. The evidence Dr. van Dam adduces from *King Lear*, Q_2 , set up from its predecessor in print, is hardly corroborative. The alterations in lineation in Q_2 , all occurring in short passages, nearly all show either an attempt (whether successful or not) at improvement of something obviously wrong, or a desire to save space; many occur in the second half of the last sheet of the text, where these changes and others appear to indicate that the compositor was trying to finish his falsely dated text on $1A^r$ as Q_1 finishes.

The prompter.—Although no extant manuscript promptbook from the Tudor-Jacobean period shows, so far as I am aware, the hand of the prompter laid heavily on the text itself, Dr. van Dam can adduce in support of his theory of interpolations made by a prompter-adapter the presence of such matter in the text of Jonson's *Alchemist* printed in 1791, avowedly from an acting version. Interpolated matter in *King Lear* (in either text, or in both) he discovers in lines which he cannot by various elisions (some supported by examples from Jacobean manuals of orthoëpy and orthography and from other poets) reduce to ten syllables. But his belief that dramatic poets did not in practice ever vary from the ten-syllable pattern rests on dubious supports: the habits of nondramatic poets, particularly Spenser, and Shakespeare in his poems; the practice of Jonson, a self-conscious classicist least to be chosen as typical; and the statements of Elizabethan metrists, nearly all prepossessed in favor of making English verse "artificial" by the imitation of classical meters. If the strictures of Gascoigne (1575) and Puttenham (1589) on the necessity for rigid decasyllables are thought to have evidential value for the practice of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, one need only note their almost equally severe prescription for the placing of the caesura—a thing that became one of the most flexible of rhythmic instruments. But, even if we give classical precedent full weight as an influence favoring respect for systematic form, writers of blank verse would find there warrant for certain of their freedoms—the broken line, coming from Virgil, is imitated in all the early translations of the *Aeneid*;¹ Campion makes provision for tribrachs (e.g., "misery," not syncope) in his "licentiate iambic." A redundant syllable before the pause is, in English verse, at least as old as Chaucer. Extra-metrical interjections occur everywhere in Elizabethan drama. If the accepted good text of

¹ Professor Hereward T. Price made this important observation in a paper "Towards a scientific method of textual criticism," read before the English section of the Modern Language Association at Richmond, December, 1936.

King Lear (leaving aside the controversial First Quarto) contains interpolations, then so does nearly every other play of Shakespeare. In the face of the abundance of such freedoms in his text, one may well begin to suspect that he wrote in that way, and one may ask whether a theory evolved to explain away such a widespread phenomenon is not more difficult of acceptance than the phenomenon itself.

The test comes in the application of the theory. It leads Dr. van Dam to make such unnecessary and impossible alterations in the text as appear in the following passage (metrical arrangement and accent marks his; readings of Q_1 departed from, in brackets):

Kent. Let it fall rather, though the forke inuade
 The region of my heart, be Kent vnmade [vnmannerly]
 When Lear is mad. What wilt [thou om.] doeould man, think'st
 [thou om.]
 That dutie shall haue dread to speake, when power
 To flatt'rie [flatterie] bowes? To plainnes honours bound
 When Mai'sty [Maicesty] stoops to folly. Verse [Reuerse] thy doome,
 And in thy best consideration checke
 This hid'ous [hideous] rashnes, answere [my om.] life my iudgement,
 Thy yongest daughter does not loue thee least,
 Nor are those empty harted whose low sound
 Reuerbs not holl'ness [hollownes].
Lear. [Kent om.] On thy life no more.
Kent. My life I neuer held but as a pawne
 To wage against thy enemies, nor feare [to lose om.] it
 Thy safty be'ng [being] the motiue.
Lear. Out [of om.] my sight.
 (I, i, 146-59.)

He calls "to lose," in line 158, a needless elucidation!

This theory of interpolations is the foundation of Dr. van Dam's difficult theory—both Q_1 and F contain them; both, therefore, represent promptbooks; since no transcript prepared for the stage would contain so many lines not spoken on the stage, both texts rest on the same promptbook, and that was originally Shakespeare's autograph.

Except where, in an appendix refuting Dr. Greg's views, he refers to scattered passages in other parts of the play, Dr. van Dam examines only the first scene, and he reprints it in a reconstructed form. One regrets that he so restricted the field of his evidence, for the first scene is not wholly typical of the play: it contains more genuinely metrical irregularities than many scenes and less irregularity that arises merely from mislineation, and it does not contain verse printed as prose, whereas certain other scenes in verse (I, iv; II, i) are printed almost straight through as prose. Such differences as these require explanation based on the state of the copy.

The principal merits of the book are Dr. van Dam's exposition of some of the weak spots in my own thesis and the reminder that, in handling Shake-

speare's metrics, we must not forget Shakespeare's pronunciation. His bold offer of a theory different from any current, whether or not it meets with acceptance, cannot but provoke further examination of a tantalizing problem.

MADELEINE DORAN

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A dictionary of American English on historical principles, Part I: A-Baggage.

Edited by SIR WILLIAM CRAIGIE, with the collaboration of JAMES R. HULBERT, GEORGE WATSON, MITFORD M. MATHEWS, and ALLEN WALKER READ. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. xii+116.

After a lapse of only a little more than ten years from the time when active work was undertaken upon the *Dictionary of American English*, Part I has appeared. As stated in the preface the editors have been chiefly guided by two principles in the selection of words and phrases to be included. The first is to "exhibit clearly those features by which the English of the American colonies and the United States is distinguished from that of England and the rest of the English-speaking world" by presenting the "words and phrases which are clearly or apparently of American origin or have greater currency here than elsewhere." The second is to include "every word denoting something which has a real connection with the development of the country and the history of its people." There are two important restrictions upon these bases of inclusion: slang and dialect words are limited to those of early date or special prominence, and words which have come into use since the close of the nineteenth century are omitted. Further, this dictionary does not normally concern itself with etymology or pronunciation. Symbols indicate whether a word or a meaning originated in this country or is a part of the common English heritage. Other symbols indicate the earliest, latest, or inclusive dates of occurrence of a word or a sense in England. Of course, all quotations are dated and accurately located. Through these means one can trace the comparative chronology of words and meanings in England and in America—certainly not the least of the many merits of this dictionary. The definitions themselves are clear and adequate, and, on the whole, very simply and unpedantically expressed.

In this Part I the first entry is that of the letter *A* as used to brand an adulterer or adulteress in the New England colonies; the last is the word "baggage-room." In a brief review it is impossible to call attention even to the most significant groups of entries. There are eighty-eight occurrences of the adjective "American" in compounds or fixed phrases. Another long list is of compounds with "anti-" which go far toward illustrating the course of our political and social history. For an academic reader an extremely interesting list could be made up of the terms or senses originating in America and concerned with educational subjects. This would include the use of *A* as the

highest mark in a system of grading, "academic" to distinguish from technical or professional, "adjunct professor," "advanced standing," "appointments bureau" or "office," and even "alumnus" and "alumna." Surprisingly, "assignment" in the particular sense of work to be prepared for a later recitation is not included, nor is it in the *Supplement* to the *NED*. Probably the compounds with "back" in various senses, of which there are nearly forty of American origin, constitute the most picturesque large group of entries. "Back talk," however, although designated as of American origin does not appear to be so. The first quotation in this dictionary is dated 1884, whereas the *Supplement* to the *NED* gives two earlier entries from Irish sources—the first dated 1858 and the second 1880. The first occurrence of "automobile" as a noun is dated May, 1897, in a quotation from the *Boston transcript*—of all unexpected places! The shortened form "auto" is also first recorded in another Boston paper, the *Herald* for July 4, 1899. In this part there are naturally a number of compounds of "auto," such as "autobus," "autocycle," "auto-truck"; when the letter *M* is reached it will be interesting to note when the present general usage of "motor" began to supplant that of "auto" in such compounds.

The prefatory note, an innovation in dictionary-making, indicates the most important groups of words in this Part I. If these notes are continued with every part, they will constitute a very serviceable general analysis of the characteristically American elements of our vocabulary. The earlier American material has apparently been read with particular care, and when later these sources have been listed, this list in itself will be of great value to students of the early stages of our cultural history.

Both the editors and the University of Chicago Press are to be warmly complimented on the form and typography of the *Dictionary*. The type face is exceptionally clear. To the student of any aspect of American history and culture the *Dictionary of American English* is as interesting as it is indispensable, and a work of this character ought to be—as this is—easy to read and attractive in appearance.

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Swift's marriage to Stella. By MAXWELL B. GOLD. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937. Pp. x+189.

Mr. Maxwell Gold has certainly succeeded in establishing quite definitely the fact that, throughout the eighteenth century, the story of Swift's secret and unacknowledged marriage to Stella was generally accepted. The only contemporary challenge raised against this belief is found in a manuscript note to an interleaved copy of Hawkesworth's *Life*, probably written by Dr. Lyon in 1765, and first printed by Nichols in 1779. And even this is shown to pro-

vide no real evidence against the possibility of a secret marriage; it tends indeed to prove the other part of the story, namely, that the marriage was not consummated and was never acknowledged by Swift. Mr. Gold has moreover found one piece of new evidence from Lord Orrery's manuscript notes to a copy of his *Remarks*, now preserved in the Harvard Library, which are dated September 14, 1751, and give the whole story as told to him by Mrs. Whiteway. Her informant was said to be Dr. Sheridan, reporting what Stella had confided to him just before she died. As Mrs. Whiteway remains still such an important link in the chain of evidence, we might expect a rather closer examination of her credentials as a witness, particularly as Mr. J. M. Hone has recently cast such violent aspersions upon her as a "trivial common intruder . . . rank with a stupid pride at having secured the monopoly of protecting the great old man." Mr. Gold, however, argues very convincingly for the reliability of the independent line of evidence said to come through Bishop Berkeley from St. George Ashe, bishop of Clogher, who was believed to have performed the ceremony. Thus we are shown very clearly the ramifications of the story throughout its unchallenged course.

But we are still asked to accept the fact that a marriage ceremony was performed of which there was neither record nor witness—a ceremony, moreover, which seems quite pointless so long as it remains unacknowledged, and on the further assumption that the friendship had always been and still remained platonic. It is, on the face of it, a strange story. Was it a whim of Swift's, in his forty-ninth year, suddenly to ask his old tutor to marry them, under a tree, in the garden? Or shall we suppose that Stella desired this pathetic gesture?

Mr. Gold turns for expert advice to Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia sexualis*, first published in 1886, and finds a convincing diagnosis: "No doubt, Swift's was a case of anaesthesia sexualis." This sounds less unpleasant than some explanations, but it might have been safer to go for professional advice to a psychologist, who has at least studied the case more fully, such as Dr. Adolf Heidenhain, whose *Pathographische Untersuchung* appeared in 1934.

In a most valuable appendix we are given the correct text of twenty-three letters of Swift, and one to him from Benjamin Motte, from autograph copies in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Some are printed here for the first time; the rest had appeared before only in part and in versions which show considerable alterations by former editors. It would perhaps be ungrateful to ask why letters of such importance should not have been printed here in full and in a larger type. Very little more space would have been required, as the passages now reprinted from Ball's version (in even smaller type) could then have been dispensed with; and we should have been saved the trouble of having to fit in these scraps with the rest of the text, for which we now have to go to Ball's edition.

HERBERT DAVIS

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Voltaire as an historian of seventeenth-century French drama. By ROBERT LOWENSTEIN. ("Johns Hopkins studies in romance literatures and languages," Vol. XXV.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935. Pp. 195.

Voltaire and Jean Meslier. By ANDREW R. MOREHOUSE. ("Yale Romanic studies," Vol. IX.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936. Pp. x+158.

These two monographs deal with very different aspects of Voltaire, but they are alike in thoroughness of method (within certain limits) and in the interest of the results obtained or suggested. Mr. Lowenstein's study, which might better have been called *Voltaire as critic of seventeenth-century drama*, is excellent wherever it probes into the origins of Voltaire's remarks regarding many plays and where his more general critical opinions on the drama are correlated with those of his contemporaries. The method is usually to take up, play by play, Voltaire's rather piecemeal discussions of dramatists from Hardy to Fontenelle and to show how his statements about their individual sources, dating, etc., hark back to the Frères Parfaict, Louis Racine, and a number of others. Much pioneering and useful work has here been done, with full documentation, by Mr. Lowenstein. Thus we learn specifically what information Voltaire drew from the earliest biographies of Molière, what he owed in a factual way to Pellisson on Richelieu, to many editors on Corneille, and how little originality is found in his treatments of Rotrou, of Mairet, or in the stock confrontation of Corneille with Racine. We perceive again (cf. Voltaire's subterfuges regarding his debt to Fontenelle in the matter of scientific popularizing) that the leader of the *philosophes* is not above drawing a herring across the trail in order to disguise his obligations to others. We recognize, too, that certain critical dicta (as well as data) were not only "in the air" but can be pinned down by definite references to other authorities of the neo-classical period. This is readily confirmed through tracing back the filiation of the judgments on such plays as *Bérénice* or *Phèdre*.

Yet on the whole it is in the domain of—shall we say the higher criticism?—that Mr. Lowenstein seems to fall short of one's expectations. This may be exemplified by one quotation (p. 39) regarding Voltaire's procedure: "He early adopted Du Bos' principles of criticism and frequently repeated the application of them." I do not think that this is quite true. What Voltaire really did was to crib from Du Bos at times some of the data and dicta aforesaid; and, as Lombard has shown, the theories of Du Bos regarding the epic, variations in national tastes, and the sensualistic approach were not without their attraction for Voltaire. But as for adopting in practice the "principles" of this relativist, experimentalist, impressionist *avant la lettre*—that is quite another thing. Nor is this the only case where Mr. Lowenstein fails to rise safely from the particular to the general. Passing over the confusion which the author imports into the term "rationalistic" (see pp. 10, 31, 32, 157, 162, 184), one may recur to the title of the work and pause on his conception of literary "history." Two main issues seem to be involved. The first is that this

type of history seems to be conceived of mainly on a factual basis. The second is the contention that Voltaire as a "historian" did not proceed along the lines of latter-day scholarship.

Mr. Lowenstein begins his argument with another confusion, when Faguet's praise is added to that of Lanson: "Voltaire, en tant qu'historien," says the former, "ne ment jamais, n'invent jamais." In the rest of the quotation there is nothing to show that Faguet is judging Voltaire as other than a historian at large; but Mr. Lowenstein shifts the position and makes the query: "Was Voltaire as good a literary as a political historian? Is Faguet's estimate trustworthy . . . ?" In the conclusion it is answered that "it is impossible to accept Faguet's opinion of him" (i.e., the opinion attributed to Faguet) and that Voltaire must be placed in a humble rank as a literary historian. His value here "is little," because his "contribution to our knowledge" of seventeenth-century drama is "very small." Factual knowledge is evidently meant, for it is admitted and even urged that Voltaire's critical attitude is usually in accord with that of his period. The first point is driven home when it is declared that, regarding Racine, Voltaire is "rarely the historian, in his approach. . . . Hence the paucity of factual material and the almost total absence of a discussion of the sources of Racine's plays." Surely, one should have a broader view than that concerning the functions of a literary historian. Of the evolution of literary movements and the insidious recurrence of fundamental ideas, Mr. Lowenstein seems to have little conception; nor does he bring to light such a conception in Voltaire. Yet the author at times impinges on the broader view by matching the Voltairian *aperçus* with those of his contemporaries and by suggesting, at least (e.g., on "Purism"), how such judgments were conditioned by environment. It is held that Voltaire shines superior to his confreres rather by virtue of the terseness of his style than by any intrinsic merits as a critic. But Mr. Lowenstein notes that in several other respects, e.g., in his genuine appreciation of "the best of Corneille," the sage of Ferney outstrips his contemporaries.

The second issue raised is that, when tested by standards of scientific scholarship today, Voltaire falls short of the whole duty of a literary historian. Untroubled by our scruples, he will not give due credit to his numerous sources, uses mostly eighteenth-century documentation and editions, has little first-hand knowledge of the earliest dramatists in the preceding century, and does not aim impartially at the truth. Admitting some of these failings, one may oppose, by way of excuse, a sentence from Mr. Lowenstein himself: "Abstracting an author out of his times has produced some unfortunate results." If we "abstract" Voltaire to the degree of trying to turn him into a Lanson, we falsify his intentions and his role, along with his *Zeitgeist*. Joseph Texte once made a similar error when he expected too much of the *Lettres philosophiques*.

Apart from these reservations, Mr. Lowenstein's work has genuine value

as showing how Voltaire got much of his material and how he used it. An index of plays and dramatists (though not of sources) affords assistance to the reader.

The question of Voltaire's connection with Jean Meslier, the atheistical priest who died in 1729, has been broached several times, notably by Professor Wade in this journal (XXX, 381-98). There the author showed the proliferation of Meslier manuscripts before the actual publication of his *Testament* and discussed how far Voltaire's editorship of the *Extrait du Testament* (1762) can be considered an original work. Professor Morehouse is inclined, reasonably it seems to me, to find more characteristic interpolations in the manuscript of the *Extrait* than are conceded by Wade. Both men agree in stressing the abundant circulation of Meslier's diatribe, whether *in toto* or in abstract, in manuscript form. Professor Morehouse is particularly concerned with showing (1) how the *Extrait* is on the whole "a faithful reproduction of Meslier's text and arguments," though with numerous omissions; and (2) with suggesting the extent of Voltaire's later debt, during the Ferney period, to Meslier's attack upon Christianity. But these two topics are not clearly separated, while the development of the second offers some perplexities. On the one hand, it is maintained that with the *Extrait* Voltaire "crossed the Rubicon" to assail the Church and that he frequently used the *Testament* for its concrete examples and arguments *re* Biblical contradictions, prophecies, or especially miracles. On the other, it is emphasized that certain resemblances between the two unbelievers must not be overplayed; and it is decided that what Voltaire drew from Meslier on miracles is "impossible to measure"—despite some pretty fair measurements that are laid down. One may perceive in these doubts a laudable caution and a deference to the counter-obligations of the sort which, as Torrey has demonstrated, Voltaire owed to the English deists, notably Woolston and Collins. The criss-crossing of the pattern is further complicated by the early "impious manuscripts and publications," briefly described in Morehouse's introduction, as well as by Voltaire's enormous debt to the general skepticism of Bayle.

It is not yet possible to construct a balance sheet which will reckon in detail and in parallel form with these various possible obligations. Not even that preliminary "Inventory of doubt" (*ca.* 1700) once proposed by Lanson has as yet been drawn up. In the meantime monographs of this kind are undoubtedly useful. Regarding each person studied—and most definitely regarding Bayle—the resources of the Leningrad library, with its annotations by Voltaire, should be brought into action. Professor Morehouse is aware of the comparative values involved and has done much to clarify, without apparent exaggeration, the importance of Meslier as a militant *avant-coureur* of the operations to be conducted from the G.H.Q. of Ferney. It is evident that Voltaire used him both as a source and as a scapegoat.

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